TWO WAYS TO GET ELECTION PETITIONS

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THE MILITANT

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'THEY SHOT FIRST' IS THE WAR CRY

The Tide Rises In Occupied Territories

An Editorial

The 'state of civil siege' decreed by the Nazis in Norway on Wednesday is the latest admission that the 'New Order' is already crumbling in Europe.

Preparations of the workers for strikes against the Nazi overlords drove the occupation authorities to this desperate act, the Nazis themselves admit.

Thus in Norway, as in the rest of Europe, the Nazis find it impossible to rule through native Quislings.

As a wave of sabotage in favor of the Soviet Union sweeps France, the French Quisling, Pétain, proves impotent to serve Hitler. The German authorities, in their desperation, shoulder aside their native agents and directly take charge of executing French opponents in an attempt to frighten the masses into passivity. But in vain. The revolt against occupation continues to grow.

Despite Nazi terrorism, the revolutionary miners of the Borinage district of Belgium have struck time and again.

The Serbian masses are conducting widespread guerilla warfare against the occupation.

In short, the Nazis are compelled to resort to rule by the naked sword. Yet Hitler fears that more than he fears the armies against which he is contending, and he has used every device at his command to find "native" allies through whom to rule. He found such allies in the capitalist class in each of the occupied countries. But they have proved unable to keep the masses in submission to Hitler.

Hitler knows the dread consequences of attempting to rule by occupying troops. The Kaiser tried that in the Ukraine in 1918. And his troops, surrounded by universal hostility, became demoralized. German troops in occupied territories produced more revolutionists than those in the front lines.

Hitler tried to avoid the repetition of the Kaiser's "mistake" in the Ukraine — but he could find no way to neutralize the embittered masses of Europe.

With each day the German occupying troops are being more deeply engulfed in the rising tide of universal hostility which surrounds them. Meanwhile, the Nazi victories in the Soviet Union are producing millions of German victims. The mirage of easy conquest is fading while at the same time all Europe confronts the Nazi regime with the insuperable problems resulting from their previous conquests. From these factors must come eventually a break in the Nazi morale.

And when the Nazis falter, the Nazi overlords will not be the only ones to be destroyed by the unleashed wrath of the masses of Europe. Woe to the French bourgeoisie which collaborated with Hitler! Woe to the capitalist class of the European continent, which sought to come to an understanding with Hitler!

Churchill and Roosevelt will try to set up again the thrones and cabinets of pre-war Europe. But the masses of Europe will not let them. The masses will sweep away once and for all the capitalist class which made this war.

Out of the crucible of this war will come the real war for liberation: the war of the masses against their exploiters. The capitalists, fascist and "democratic" both, started this war. The workers will end it.

War Bloc Runs UE Convention

Stalinists And Hillmanite Red Baiters Join Hands In Putting Over Pro-War Line

By ART PREIS

CAMDEN, New Jersey, Sept. 5. — The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, fourth largest union in the CIO, today ended its five day convention here with its Stalinist and Hillmanite leaders demonstratively joining hands in calling for unity on a program of all-out support of the war policies of the Roosevelt administration and opposition to John L. Lewis leadership in the CIO.

James B. Carey, outgoing Hillmanite president of the UE, sounded the final note of Stalinist-Hillmanite harmony in a speech at the closing convention session this afternoon.

Carey called on the UE members to give full support to the new president, Albert J. Fitzgerald, of Lynn, Massachusetts, the Hillmanite who gained Stalinist backing for the president's post by agreeing to "compromise" on the red-baiting issue.

Carey, like the Stalinists, pleaded for "unity" on the fundamental issue of support of the imperialist war.

That Carey is not still president of the UE is no fault of the Stalinists. Throughout the convention, the Stalinists made desperate and determined overtures to Carey in an effort to achieve complete organizational, as well as political, accord with him. It was an open secret at the conven-

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St. Paul Case Being Argued

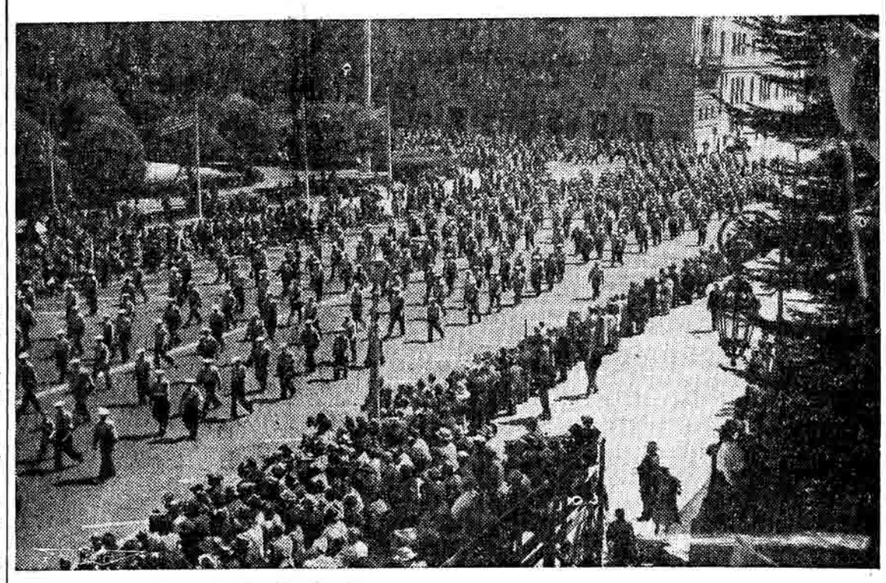
MINNEAPOLIS, September 10 —Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO will open their oral argument tomorrow morning before Federal Judge M. M. Joyce, seeking dismissals of the "seditious conspiracy" indictment handed down July 15 against 29 persons, including leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO.

Former Judge Arthur LeSeur of Minneapolis, M. J. Meyers of Chicago, and Albert Goldman—who is also one of those indicted —are the attorneys representing the SWP.

Attorneys Gilbert Carlson and D. J. Shama of Minneapolis will argue for Local 544-CIO.

If Judge Joyce upholds any sections of the indictment which was drawn up by the U. S. Department of Justice, he will set the date of trial.

Marchers Show C.I.O. Strength



CIO unionists in San Francisco gave a tremendous demonstration of their organized strength in the CIO Labor Day Parade, a portion of which is shown in this picture. Tens of thousands of workers and CIO sympathizers lined the sidewalks to greet the marchers.

Department of Justice To Center Its 'Case' Around Minneapolis Union Defense Guard

THE MILITANT has just learned from authoritative sources that the famous Minneapolis Union Defense Guard, organized three years ago by members of Local 544 of the teamsters union, will be the center of the government's case in the trial of 29 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO.

Orginally the government set out to convict the defendants on the basis of their militant opposition to the Roosevelt war program and the shackling of the labor movement to the war machine.

This was shown at the time of the Department of Justice raids on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in the Twin Cities when Acting Attorney-General Biddle (since then promoted to the attorney-generalship) stated on June 28 that "the principal basis for the prosecution is found in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Workers Party" and went on to quote sections from that Declaration of Principles which stated that in the event of war the Socialist Workers Party "will not, under any circumstances, support that war but will, on the contrary, fight against it."

However, a council of war decided that it was too dangerous to press the case on the basis of their anti-war policy, which might win much popular sympathy for the defendants, and it was decided instead to accuse them of "arming the workers", which they claim was the function of the Union Defense Guard.

Readers of THE MILITANT are urged to read the article on Page 3 of this issue for a factual account of the history, activities and development of the Union Defense Guard.

'Greer' Incident Serves Schemes Of War-Mongers

Argument About Who Shot First Covers Up Joint War Guilt Of All Imperialists

The latest interventionist argument is that the Germans "shot first" in the Greer incident.

On September 5 the United States Navy reported that a submarine of "undetermined" nationality had fired torpedoes at the U.S.S. Greer, en route to Iceland, the day before. "The Greer immediately counter-attacked with depth charges. Results are not known."

The same day President Roosevelt announced that the U. S. Fleet was searching the seas to "eliminate" the submarine.

On September 6 official quarters in Berlin announced that a U-Boat had been attacked by 'an unidentified destroyer' in the German blockade zone.

The same day the U. S. Navy denied the Berlin reports and reiterated that "the initial attack in this engagement was made by the submarine on the Greer. It was then, and not until then, that the Greer counter-attacked."

Since then there have been additional and increasingly heated denials and counter-charges on both sides.

Why so much heated talk on both sides about who shot first?

Because both sides, Roosevelt's and Hitler's, are unable to discuss the fundamental issues in the war. Both are trying to pin "war guilt" on each other by attributing the "first shot" to the other side. But this is mere camouflage and they both know it.

They are both trying to becloud the important facts: that American and German imperialism had been attacking each other every day in the year for many years before World War II started; and that it is these mutual attacks, and not a Greer incident, which are the real cause of the impending shooting war between the United States and Germany.

Certainly, either the Greer or the U-Boat shot first. But the question of who shot first is not at all important for determining who is responsible for the war. To determine that, it is necessary to examine all the factors and events leading up to the incident in the North Atlantic last week.

The whole epoch since the first World War has been a period of war preparation in the economic, political and military spheres by all the imperialist powers in their struggle to control the world and its markets.

The sale of a German Diesel engine in Buenos Aires, even before Hitler came to power in Germany, was an "attack" on American imperialism. The sale of an American set of machine tools in the Balkans, even before Roosevelt was elected to his first term, was an "attack" on German imperialism.

The second World War has proved again, like the first World War, that two powerful imperialist powers cannot live peacefully side by side. In the stage of monopoly capitalism the world is not big enough for the imperialists and they are driven from economic and political struggle to military struggle with each other to decide which power or set of powers shall be dominant in the exploitation of "spheres of influence", "mandated territories", colonies, markets, sources of raw materials, etc.

When the United States goes to war with Germany it will not be because of which fired first, but because of a far more fundamental conflict: because the American imperialists fear that the German imperialists, if victorious in the war, will replace them as the dominant exploiters of the globe.

We are against the war regardless of who fires the first shot. We are against both American and German imperialism because they are both responsible for the war.

Workers should no more support one or the other because of who fires the first shot, than they would support one gang of racketeers in their city simply because another gang of racketeers in the course of their struggle for control of the city, happened to fire "the first shot".

CIO Begins Drive To Organize All Teamsters

Assistant To A. D. Lewis, Chairman of CIO United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, Makes Announcement In Mpls.

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 8. — "Last week in Detroit, Michigan, the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee launched its nationwide drive to bring all teamsters under the banner of the CIO," C. Russell Turner, assistant to UCWOC Chairman A. D. Lewis, told a cheering throng of one thousand Minneapolis drivers who braved the rainy night to attend the September membership meeting of Local 544-CIO tonight.

Turner, together with Harry DeBoer of Local 544-CIO, told of the prairie fire of revolt against Tobin's dictatorship that is sweeping across the nation among the motor transport and allied workers in Detroit, Lansing, Flint, Pontiac, in Texas, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska.

'Detroit was selected as the place to launch our nationwide organizing drive because in Michigan there are fifty thousand teamsters, the large majority of whom are now unorganized or who are eager to escape from the ruthless domination of the AFL Teamster bosses," Turner said.

"Today there are approximately 400,000 CIO members in Michigan who are willing and able to give the teamsters the protection they need and desire. And as a consequence our Michigan offices have been visited by almost 5,000 teamsters who begged to be taken into the CIO, and who urged the CIO to organize all Michigan teamsters.

"Combined with this is the fact that the AFL Teamsters Union in Michigan has been a thorn in the side of all the smaller CIO organizations. Originally the United Automobile Workers of the CIO helped organize the teamsters into the AFL. Before the great sit-down strikes of 1937 the AFL Teamsters Union was small and of little consequence. But along with the CIO and with the assistance of the militant auto workers the AFL Teamsters Union became a powerful organization.

"The officers of the CIO Auto Workers Union under the leadership of R. J. Thomas have decided that a stop must be put to the raiding tactics and gangsterism of the AFL Teamsters officials in Michigan. And the smaller CIO unions are united in the fight to stop these raids and bloody attacks by the AFL officials.

BREWERY WORKERS HELP

"And numerous members of the AFL Brewery Workers Union also are happy to know that the CIO executive council has opened the doors of the CIO for teamsters. They, too, have been made the victims of raids and attacks by the AFL Teamsters bosses. And they stand behind us in our organizing drive.

"We expect a bitter fight with the AFL Teamsters bosses and the entire AFL bureaucracy in Michigan, because we know they will not willingly give up the soft jobs and easy money they derive from the Michigan teamsters. But the Michigan teamsters are prepared to fight for their democracy and freedom and the UCWOC is standing 100 per cent behind them.

"R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, already has given a statement to the public press stating that the CIO Auomobile Workers Union is going to give all-out support to the UCWOC drive to organize Michigan's teamsters.

"Roy Scoggins, director of the powerful CIO United Dairy Workers Union also has publicly declared that the Dairy Workers stand behind us.

"And before I left Detroit, Jack Ellstein, acting manager of the Detroit Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO, issued a statement supporting our drive and pledging protection for all workers who seek to escape the domination of the AFL racketeers. We have the solid support of the UAW-CIO locals throughout the state and many of them are giving us assistance in organizing the teamsters.

"Should the AFL Teamsters bosses send out their hoodlums to interfere with these workers peacefully carying on their duties, the flying squadrons of the UAW-CIO Auto locals will be on hand to take care of these paid sluggers.

"Joseph F. Pagano, national assistant welfare director of the Auto Workers Union and

(Continued on page 3)

CIO Charges New Tax Bill 'Soaks The Poor'

CIO President Philip Murray last week denounced the new tax bill, passed by the Senate on September 5, as "relief for the rich at the expense of the poor."

In stating the CIO's opposition to the bill, Murray's letter to the Senate Finance Committee advocated the CIO's program for taxation on the wealthy corporations and high incomes.

Following passage of the bill in the Senate, the CIO initiated an intensified drive to secure its reversal in the House. CIO committees are visiting Congressmen in Washington, and resolutions and letters are beginning to pour into Washington from the CIO locals and members, demanding taxes based on "the ability to pay."

John T. Jones, director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, in a radio address on August 30, declared of the House bill, of which the Senate bill is a harsher model:

"In passing this bill, Congress has listened to the voice of the monopolists and war millionaires. It has turned a deaf ear to the workers, the farmers, the professional people and the small business men."

The Senate bill calls for a record increase of $3,538,900,000 in taxes to defray the cost of the war program. Virtually the entire increase is to be filched from the pockets of the low-wage earners and lower middle class through reduced exemptions on income taxes and a huge increase in excise taxes on consumers goods.

Rectifying an omission of the House, which did not adopt the lowered exemptions measures, the Senate, at the instructions of the Roosevelt administration, voted to impose taxes on single persons' incomes of as low as $750 a year —$14.42 a week. Married persons will have to pay taxes on incomes of $1,500 a year. The previous exemptions were $800 for single persons and $2,000 for married individuals.

Those in the income brackets of from $800 to $3,000 per year face income tax increases under the Senate measure of 400 to 500 per cent.

In addition to raising over one-third of the huge new revenue measure through taxes on subsistence incomes, the Senate bill provides for tremendous additional levies on consumers goods through manufacturers excise taxes, invariably passed on to the consumer through increased prices, and direct sales taxes on certain commodities.

Included among these "luxury" taxes is a $5 annual "use" tax on automobiles. Whether you're a worker driving a $50 "jalopy" to work, or a coupon-clipper riding around in a $25,000 Hispano-Suiza, you pay the same "use" tax.

Since most of the workers' incomes are spent, while most of the incomes of the bosses are saved, these excise and sales taxes will take a far greater percentage from the wage-earners' incomes than from the bosses'.

The war profiteers, most favored group, escape almost all excess war profits taxes through a measure which permits them to fix their maximum non-taxable profits at a point which allows for almost unlimited profits beyond those of the pre-war years.

Under the latter measure, a corporation like General Motors can soak up $210,000,000 annually before paying one cent of taxes on surplus profits.

This bill is perhaps the crudest piece of tax robbery put over on the workers ever to come out of Washington. Under the cloak of "defense" needs, the Roosevelt administration is pushing through a measure aimed to place the major burden of war costs on the masses, and to protect and further entrench the corporation monopolies.

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Questions Use Of The Name, Negro

DEAR EDITOR:

I was reading your paper lately and I notice that you use the words 'Negro Draftee" and 'How The Negroes Are Treated". Will you please explain to me and the whole world why you use the word "Negro"—what is a Negro and Negress and who are they and where did they come from and their father and mother and where were they born since the days of slavery and the so-called Negro was set free?

There are no more Negroes and Negresses, all are free born, releasing them from the slave name that was given them. So please write me by return mail. I am writing to every paper that uses the word Negro for an answer. As our forefathers were, so are we. This is another people since the days of slavery.

Rt. Rev. Milton E. Lee,
Organizer and Founder, The United Kingdom of Ethiopian American Tribes of Israel of the United Brothers, Sister in Christ Church, Inc.

The Editor's Answer

It is evident to every Negro worker who reads the press of the Socialist Workers Party that it defends his rights, attacks and exposes every form of Jim Crowism wherever it exists and fights for full social, economic and political equality for his people. It is therefore obvious that when we use the word Negro, we do not attempt for a moment to belittle the Negro people by referring to them wih a "slave name".

Instead, we use the term because we have found it to be the one generally accepted not only by the dictionary and the general public, but also by practically every Negro-owned and published newspaper in the country. So far as we know, only the Baltimore *Afro-American* does not use it. All the others of the hundreds of Negro weeklies do.

Our comrades, both white and Negro, who work in the shops besides Negro workers and sell newspapers to them in their homes, have often had this question raised to them. If they use the term Negro, there are always some people who say, "I am not a Negro, I am a colored man" or "I am an Afro-American" or something else. And others who use the term colored man are told, "I resent your using the word colored. I am a Negro and I want to be referred to as such." Whichever term is used often meets objections, so in our press we use the term accepted as the correct and scientific one by most Negroes and by the Negro press.

We note in Rev. Lee's letter that he himself makes no suggestion as to a better term, so we can only wonder what term he would have us substitute. Perhaps he suggests "Ethiopian American"? If so, we could introduce him to many Negroes who would object to that on the basis that they were not born in Ehiopia or descended from people who were born there.

We conclude by reminding Rev. Lee—and all others who like to spend valuable time quibbling about this question—that a hundred times more important than what the Negro people are called is the question of what they should do to change the Jim Crow system that really threatens their well-being.—The Editor.

A Soldier's Reaction To The Draft Extension

DEAR EDITOR:

You may have heard this from another source, but I pass it along in case you haven't.

Three soldiers at Fort Sheridan were shot several weeks ago while attempting to desert. This severe "discipline" indicates, of course, the increasing unrest in the army, lack of morale, and that the authorities have no power to inject enthusiasm and spirit into the men and must resort, as always, to force and terror—ruling by fear.

Also, at the same time the draft law was extended, a soldier at Camp Grant hanged himself with his bathrobe belt. Words are hardly necessary to interpret this action: with no alternative but to spend years in the army and to fight and die for a cause in which he didn't believe, death by his own hand seemed preferable.

I had heard about this in directly before, but checked with a friend of mine at Camp Grant before sending it on to you.

K. M., Detroit, Mich.

The MILITANT
and
The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
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One pamphlet or book will be given free with each subscription either to the MILITANT or to the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL:

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Mail your subscription money and the name of the pamphlet or book you wish to: THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, New York City

Election Petitions in New York: Two Methods of Getting Them

NEW YORK CITY — The signatures of 7500 citizens eligible to vote are required to place the name of James P. Cannon on the ballot as the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for the office of mayor of New York City. Already well over 11,000 have signed, and more roll in every day. It is no easy task to overcome the legal disadvantages imposed on a minority party, but the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) is meeting every requirement of the laws.

Every day, from morning till late in the night, workers, young and old, go in and out of the Cannon Campaign headquarters with petitions, fountain-pens and election literature. They proudly report their totals for the day and their averages per hour. They feel that getting Cannon's name on the ballot is an important part of the struggle against the war.

Into every working class neighborhood in the city they go, to every small park, to every crowded thoroughfare, to stop men and women and talk to them about the program of the Socialist Workers Party and the need for supporting its Trotskyist Anti-War candidate against the anti-labor warmongers of the boss parties.

By this time more than 100,000 people have been stopped in the streets or approached in their homes and have been told about the Cannon campaign.

It's a long weary job, getting so many signatures that even prejudiced elections officials won't be able to deny Cannon a place on the ballot, but the members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party keep plugging away because they want to fight the war program, and because they have been encouraged and cheered on by the response of thousands of workers in all parts of the city to the party's platform.

CONTRAST OUR CAMPAIGN WITH A BOSS' PETITIONS

What a contrast this is to the way the bosses' candidates go about securing their petitions! The workers of New York got an insight into a typical boss campaign when the petitions of John R. Davies, an independent Republican running against La Guardia in the primaries, were taken into court last week.

Davies needed 5,000 signatures to fill his primary petition.

Howard Osterhout, Davies' campaign manager, called in Simeon J. Beckerman, a professional solicitor with a reputation for producing filled petitions.

Beckerman was to get $50 a day plus an unspecified additional sum for expenses, and $300 was plunked down before a single signature was put on the line. Less than a week later Beckerman demanded $1,000 more or no signatures! After four days, the campaign committee capitulated and gave him the money.

On August 2, Beckerman delivered a batch of petitions to a Davies associate, Paul A. Zizelman. The sheets were carefully stowed in a cabinet. The next morning they were gone and Zizelman, knowing his pal Beckerman like a brother, simply "assumes that Beckerman stole them back" to resell to the campaign committee!

Osterhout and Zizelman put their heads together and worried. They decided to fire Beckerman; they did. But twelve hous before the deadline for filing they found themselves with less than half the signatures needed.

Then some sort of miracle happened. That afternoon more than 5,4000 signatures turned up at Davies headquarters and nobody seemed to know where they came from. Whether the aroma was of Beckerman or not, nobody would say. Ninety minutes later Beckerman himself appeared, loaded down with sheets containing 5,200 more names, for which he demanded $1,500; he settled for $500.

Zizelman and Osterhout agreed that everything "smelled". But what is one odor more or less in boss politics? The names were filed—13,118 of them.

The Law Committee of the Republican Committee, acting on behalf of LaGuardia, who doesn't want Davies on the ballot, challenged the Davies petitions, and Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, before whom the evidence was laid, ruled Davies off the ballot.

COURT UPHOLDS THE DAVIES' PETITIONS

On Sept. 9, however, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court reversed Pecora's ruling and ordered Davies' name put back on the primary ballot.

By a four to one decision, the court ruled: (1) 6,182 of the signatures on the petitions were vaid and these voters should not be deprived of their right to a candidate because of wrongs perpetrated by others; (2) The technicality that some sheets lacked proper notarization should not rule out bona-fide signatures; bona-fide signatures should not be ruled out because they happen to appear on the same sheet with false signatures.

So, even out of this smelly situation, comes one good thing: the very reasonable points made by the Appellate Division for upholding Davies' petitions become precedents which may be used by the minority parties. If Davies can be on the ballot after all this, the Board of Elections will have to go to fantastic lengths to try to rule us off the ballot!

N.Y. Committee Asks Fund For Cannon Campaign

There is only one anti-war candidate for Mayor of New York City, the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate, James P. Cannon. To carry through a successful campaign for our candidate, the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party needs a sound truck and equipment, hundreds of thousands of leaflets, special tabloid editions of the MILITANT, portable platforms for street meetings, etc.

The Cannon-For-Mayor Campaign Committee is conducting a drive for finances to secure these necessary campaign materials. We are asking every member and sympathizer of our party to assist the campaign financially by contributing a minimum of one day's pay. These funds are needed at once, in order to put the election drive into high gear by October 1, the date for filing of the Cannon petitions.

Fight the warmongers! Give one day's pay so that the anti-war voice of labor may be heard! Send or bring your contribution to the CANNON-FOR-MAYOR CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, Robert Chester, Chairman, at 116 University Place, New York City.

Stalinist-Hillmanite War Bloc Runs UE Convention at Camden

(Continued from page 1)

tion that the Stalinist and "compromise" Hillmanite leaders had spent hours with Carey on the Tuesday evening prior to the elections, trying to persuade him to abandon his anti-communist resolution in return for support for his reelection as union president.

CAREY INSISTS ON RED BAITING STAND

Carey would not agree to this. He had built up his following on the promise of an "uncompromising" fight to eliminate the "communists" from the union, and was under pressure from the bulk of his followers to carry out this program. For months prior to the convention Carey had led a campaign to secure the adoption of resolutions by the locals asking the convention to bar communists from union office.

Carey was confronted with the choice of risking the loss of the union presidency and retaining his personal following among the membership, or yielding to the Stalinists' conditions and remaining president as the captive of the Stalinists. He chose to risk losing the presidency.

Carey no doubt made his choice in the belief that he could win on the red-baiting issue and gain the presidency as well. The approach of the forthcoming CIO national convention has tended to sharpen the fight for union posts and control, as each group in the Stalinist-Hillmanite camp would like to hold the dominant power at the CIO convention.

Thus, much of the convention time was occupied with the dispute over the "red" issue, a dispute which gave the false impression that there was a fundamental cleavage of "leftists" and "rightists" and which served to conceal somewhat the actual Stalinist-Hillmanite unity that prevailed on the basic political and programmatic issues.

JOINT REPORT KEYNOTES "UNITY" FOR THE WAR

The keynote of this unity was struck at the very start of the convention in the joint report of the general officers—Stalinists and Hillmanites combined—which projected the program adopted by the convention.

This report stressed, above all, unity around the program of full support to the war policies of the Roosevelt administration and it set the tone of the entire convention. It contained not a single reference to the need for labor militancy, Roosevelt's use of troops against strikers, the Administration's support of anti-labor legislation, the strikebreaking role of the National Defense Mediation Board, or the growing Administration drive against workers' rights.

Instead, the report asserted that the UE made its advances "with very little recourse to labor's traditional weapon — strikes and stoppages of work."

This theme was repeated by the convention leaders, Stalinists and Hillmanites alike, throughout the convention. Not once, during the entire convention, did a speaker strike a note of militant labor struggle.

The first two days of the convention produced little beyond the adoption, at the Tuesday session, of a resolution, supported by the entire leadership of the union, approving the government's war policies and urging the Administration to put its policies into effect "with all possible speed and energy."

There was no discussion on the resolution. Carey put it to a standing vote. Only five delegates dared to rise in opposition.

STALINISTS HIDE CAREY'S ANTI-LABOR ROLE

The fight over the anti-communist issue did not come on the convention floor until Wednesday. This fight, which at no time took on the character of a struggle over fundamental issues, at first arose as a "jurisdictional" dispute, with the Stalinists insisting that the resolutions committee, which they controlled, had jurisdiction over the issue, and the Careyites claiming that it properly belonged in the hands of the constitution committee, controlled by the Hillmanites.

On Wednesday morning, the resolutions committee presented a resolution, initiated by the Stalinists, which offered a compromise to the openly red-baiting Carey proposal.

The Stalinist resolution excluded specific reference to communists and communism, but laid the basis for persecution of genuine union militants.

This resolution declared that the union "has in the past made substantial contributions to the defense of this country" and is "today called on to do still more toward this defense."

Therefore, the resolution concluded "that this union, firm in its loyalty to this country, to its democratic institutions and constitution, reiterates its vigorous opposition to any person who acts or works against the interests of the United States or of this union . . . That any person guilty of such acts can have no place whatever either as member or officer in this union . . . That any good-standing member of the union is entitled to all rights and privileges without discrimination, unless such member be proved guilty of acts against the nation or against the union in accord with the procedure set forth in our constitution . . . "

STALINIST "COMPROMISE" RESOLUTION DANGEROUS

This resolution is so worded that while it can be used against genuine anti-war elements and union militants who might conduct strikes or other labor "acts against the nation," it can not so easily be turned against the Stalinists, who now proclaim their "loyalty to the United States of America and its Constitution."

The reactionary red-baiting Carey could subscribe to every word of this resolution. He wanted, however, to have "communists" and "communism" specifically mentioned. He was forced, therefore, to oppose the Stalinist resolution on purely technical grounds, arguing that the single section dealing with the rights and privileges of members belonged to the jurisdiction of the Hillmanite-controlled constitution committee.

Carey, as chairman, therefore ruled this section of the resolution out of order.

An appeal against this ruling was made, and the appeal was won by a roll-call of 714 to 450. This vote was the first real test of strength between the Stalinists and Careyites.

CAREY AND STALINISTS PULL THEIR PUNCHES

During the ensuing several hours debate on the resolution itself, it became clear that neither the Stalinists nor Carey cared to attack each other in a forthright manner.

The Stalinists correctly argued that the anti-communist issue was supported by the anti-labor press, the employers and reactionary politicians.

But they deliberately avoided any direct attack on the Hillmanites, Carey or the Roosevelt Administration as being the actual sponsors of this move in the UE and other CIO unions. The fire of the Stalinists was directed at the "Inter-Local Committee of Progressive Trade Unionists," an organization of Carey supporters, but never at Carey himself.

The Stalinists correctly charged that the proposal to discriminate against persons because of their political beliefs was a violation of the fundamental principles of trade union democracy.

But they did not show *why* Carey wished to put over this red-baiting proposal. They did not, for instance, point out that Carey's attack was directed, in reality, at those who were for militant labor action against the bosses, who were opposed to collaboration with the employers and government and who fought against the Roosevelt war program. The Stalinists did not seek to discredit the real purposes of the red-baiters, but to smooth over the differences in order to unite with them.

Carey and his followers, for their part, could not point to anything in the present Stalinist program with which they disagreed. All their real differences had ceased to exist on June 22, when the Kremlin decreed full and unconditional support of the Allied imperialists.

CP "DEMOCRACY" NOT FOR TROTSKYISTS

The Careyites, through Clifford Haley, Local 1227, Long Island City, New York, resorted to a stupid expedient in an effort to win support for their position.

Haley "dramatically" confronted the convention with a photostatic copy of a pledge signed by several UE members who had attended a Communist Party training school in 1937. Haley did not attack the nature of the pledge, but merely used the document as evidence that cerain UE members had been members of the Communist Party.

This pledge included agreement to build the Communist Party and "to drive the Trotskyists out of the labor movement."

The only thing which the document proved was not that members of the Communist Party should be excluded by constitutional ruling from the union or union posts, but that the Stalinist plea for "democracy" in the union was a fake, as evidenced by their program to drive the Trotskyists out of the unions

The Stalinist-sponsored resolution was finally voted on by a show of hands, and was adopted by two-to-one majority.

So far as most of the delegates were concerned, this vote expressed an honest opposition to red-baiting policies. From that standpoint, the vote was a blow to the Hillmanite red-baiters and reactionaries and an affirmation of the progressive and democratic sentiments of the UE rank-and-file.

"WHAT ABOUT JACKSON?"

Nevertheless, the Stalinist "compromise" contained certain dangerous implications, as one delegate, Edward Lopez of Bayonne, New Jersey, pointed out. Lopez called attention to the phrase, "acts against the nation", and asked Fitzgerald, the chairman of the resolutions committee:

"What about Jackson? He's been thrown into a Canadian concentration camp. If he's found guilty, will he be thrown out of the UE because he's against the interests of his country?"

This question referred to C. S. Jackson, president of UE District Council No. 5 in Canada, who was thrown into a Canadian concentration camp several months ago after he returned from a UE conference in the United States. He has been interned for months without trial, and the UE is conducting a fight for his release.

Fitzgerald "answered" Lopez's question with the single statement:

"That's Canada. This is the United States we're in."

The Roosevelt Administration, Hillman, and all the bosses have already termed strikes and militant labor actions in the war industries to be "acts against the nation." And now they will be so termed by the Stalinists and Hillmanites in the UE.

The defeat of Carey on the red-baiting issue led to his defeat for re-election at the afternoon session Wednesday. The Stalinists backed the Massachusetts Hillmanite, Fitzgerald, against Carey. The combination of Stalinists and "independent" Hillmanites was sufficient to elect Fitzgerald. The vote was 635 to 539. Carey received considerably more votes for president than for his position on the anti-communist issue. This indicated that many delegates, as a result of the Stalinist cover-up of the anti-labor character of Carey's red-baiting, did not think his red-baiting of enough moment to warrant opposition to his holding the highest office in the union.

STALINISTS SUPPORT CAREY FOR CIO POST

Immediately after Carey's defeat, Organization Director James Matles, one of the Stalinist leaders, proposed that the UE support Carey for re-election as CIO National Secretary at the coming CIO convention. Such a motion was passed on Thursday morning.

Carey, on his part, revealed how shallow was his cleavage with the Stalinists, when he seconded the nomination of the leading Stalinist in the union, Julius Emspak, for UE secretary-treasurer. Carey called for a unanimous vote for Emspak in the interests of "unity"

Carey made one final move to get his anti-communist program adopted, when he proposed that union locals be permitted to set up their own qualifications for union officers. This was calculated to permit local unions to put anti-communist clauses in their local constitution. The convention supported a counter-proposal to this, brought in by the constitution committee, by a vote of 789 to 377. The constitution committee, Carey's own, abandoned his line at the Stalinists' "unity" plea.

It might be assumed that with the scores of vital issues and problems confronting labor in this war period, the convention would have been enlivened by much discussion and debate. This, unfortunately, was not the case.

VITAL ISSUES ARE NOT DISCUSSED

The dead-weight of the Stalinist-Hillmanite leadership simply smothered any possible real discussion on the war, the role of the Mediation Board, the right to strike, government strikebreaking, labor participation on government agencies, priorities unemployment, organization of the unorganized, etc

Such of these questions as were dealt with at all merely received passing reference in speeches on other questions or in resolutions hastily passed with little or no discussion, most of them jammed through at the very end of the convention.

The vital problems of priorities unemployment and the organization of the competitive shops, problems of extreme moment to the UE members, were passed off hastily in inadequate and undiscussed resolutions.

Every question, every problem was subordinated to the one reactionary aim: to line up the union behind Roosevelt's war program.

This convention has established definitely the fact that the Stalinists and Hillmanites, drawn together by fundamental agreement on the war, are in the process of establishing an alliance against the forces of John L. Lewis and all those anti-war elements and militants in the CIO who have thus far prevented the pro-war reactionaries from making the industrial union movement an appendage of the government's war machine.

For the second time this year we have decided to set ourselves a goal for subscriptions to the press and achieve and go beyond it if possible within a designated period. We have set ourselves a modest figure — 500 subscriptions by November 7. And if the party membership shows only part of the energy and enthusiasm which went into the campaign of February-March, the accomplishment should be a walk-away.

Already branches have acted upon the drive and two of them have promptly written us concerning their plans.

Boston says: "We will start the campaign on the 500 subs at once. I have drawn up a list of contacts, former subscribers, and we will start hitting them. House-to-house we will try getting subs and I think we will succeed.

"We mail about 200 papers each issue and these people will be visited to get subs, as they have been receiving the paper for some time. We shall see what their reaction to the MILITANT is like. Boston hasn't as yet set a quota, but we will let you know what it is in the near future."

We know Boston from old times, and we have no doubt that something good will come out of it.

Minneapolis displays undaunted the spirit for which she is famous: "We formulated plans for a subscription drive to be conducted on the lines of the national sub drive as announced in your recent communication. In the drive here we plan to offer a framed photograph of Leon Trotsky, autographed by Natalia Trotsky, if possible, to the comrade bringing in the greatest number of subs in terms of dollars and cents.

"We have the complete list of subscribers obtained in our very successful drive last winter and a special effort will be made to get renewals from among those which have already expired or are about to expire."

This is the spirit that will make the figure 500 look like nothing at all.

Negro Soldiers Denounced By General Ben Lear

Draftees Who Were Beaten And Insulted By Jim Crow Mobs In Arkansas, Went North To Be Sent Back And Threatened By Lear

Lieut. Gen. Ben Lear is again having trouble with the soldiers of his command. Two months ago it was white troops who yoohooed at girls on a golf course, now it is sixty Negro soldiers and non-commissioned officers who went AWOL from Camp Robinson, Arkansas, and attempted to hitch-hike back to their home camp at Fort Custer, Michigan.

These men accepted the danger of a court-martial and long terms in military prisons rather than face the white terror recently intensified against Negro draftees throughout the South. Desertions by both white and Negro soldiers have been increasing throughout the country, but these 60 men and their brothers in the 94th Engineer Battalion, had received particularly striking demonstration of "democracy" under the fascist-minded army officers.

The 94th Engineer Battalion is composed entirely of Negro soldiers but is officered by whites. The men were drafted mainly from Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, but were transferred to Arkansas to participate in the Second Army maneuvers now being conducted.

The southern bosses resented the presence of Northern Negroes that "didn't know their place" and decided to teach them a few lessons.

The "lesson" is reported to have risen out of an incident in Little Rock, Arkansas, when a soldier was walking along the street with a young woman and happened to brush against a cop. The policeman immediately turned upon the Negro soldier and slapped him in the face. The soldier thereupon beat up the cop. Nothing more hapened in Little Rock but the news spread throughout the area.

POLICE CREATE TROUBLE

The following day some of the 94th Battalion soldiers went into Gurdon, Ark., during their time off. They were immediately subject to abuse from the local police and state troopers. They were not only segregated in the Negro section of the town, but forbidden to use most of the streets leading to and from that section. The state troopers attempted to run down the men with police cars, threatened them with guns and yelled insulting remarks at them. Defensive action by the soldiers was prevented by the arrival of white army officers who herded the men back to camp and declared Gurdon would henceforth be "off limits" and no Negro would be allowed to visit it. Prescott, Ark., about 12 miles from camp, was then selected as "suitable" for Negroes.

That night a state trooper approached the camp and beat up a Negro sentry on duty. The sentry carried a gun but had no ammunition.

On August 13th the 94th Battalion was marching in formation along a highway between Camp Robinson and Prescott when several car loads of state troopers drove up and yelled at the white lieutenants to "get those niggers off the highway." The police then began to slap and shove the soldiers into a ditch on the side of the road. The two white lieutenants in charge of the Battalion protested that the police were interfering with military work. The police turned upon the lieutenants, called them "Yankee nigger-lovers," and slapped them in the face.

The soldiers were forced to continue the march in the ditch, sometimes through water knee-deep.

DEMAND ARMS FOR SELF-DEFENSE

When the 94th got back to camp, the soldiers demanded ammunition for their guns so that they could protect themselves from the bullets of the police. The officers told them that it was contrary to regulations, but assured them that "ample steps would be taken for their protection."

Throughout these incidents, both in Gurdon and along the road to Prescott, white military police armed with clubs and guns, were present. They never lifted a hand in defense of the soldiers.

Most of the soldiers, after leaving Camp Robinson, voluntarily surrendered themselves at northern military posts. They offered to return to Fort Custer in Michigan but begged not to be sent back to the white terror in the south.

They *were* returned to the south, however, and their commanding Major magnanimously promised that they would not be considered as deserters, and would be punished "only" with extra and "less desirable" work assignments.

Major Harman then made it clear to the southern bosses that the Negroes would be more fully segregated, thus "obviating any difficulties."

LEAR'S COMPLAINT

Even this severity, however, did not meet with the approval of the Major's superior. Gen. Lear relieved him from command on the grounds that he had been "too easy with his men." Lear has not yet indicated just what sort of discipline he considers necessary in this case, but he has placed the entire blame for the trouble upon the Negroes and their "bad acting".

"The 94th Engineers have disgusted me," Lear said this week. "You are the ones who started all this trouble and have disgraced the army and your race. I have watched you since you first started, and I want it all stopped now, not tomorrow, but today."

This is the same Lear who marched his white trops 15 miles for yoo-hooing at girls; who sponsored an army manual which openly praised fascist ideas and methods; who recently said in a radio broadcast that *all* critics of the U. S. Army officers cast are inspired by "enemy agents."

There were 1,000 Negroes in the 94th Battalion when it was sent South. Practically all of them were drafted. There is no way of judging just how many believed that they were to be trained to defend "democracy," but they are rapidly learning what a bosses' army is like.

What The Union Defense Guard Did

Its Function Was To Resist The Attacks Of The Fascist Gangs On The Union Halls

One of the charges in the indictment obtained July 15 by the government against 29 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO, is based on the organization of a Union Defense Guard in Minneapolis.

The nature of this guard was such that for this charge in the indictment as for most of the others, Roosevelt, Biddle and the FBI were forced to completely distort the facts to fit their needs which are, not to charge the defendants with what they really stand for, but to frame them up because they oppose the war.

Roosevelt is today devoting all his energies to driving the country into a war which he claims is "against fascism." The facts show that the Union Defense Guard referred to was organized to defend the labor movement in Minneapolis against attacks by American fascist groups. That was its openly stated purpose and it was on the basis of this that workers joined the Guard.

But Roosevelt would not find it easy to win support for the persecution of a group that takes seriously the threat of fascism at home and really organizes to do something about it. That is why the indictment, while it is forced to admit that "ostensibly" the Guard would "be used for protection against violent attempts to destroy trade unions" tries to cover up the facts by charging that it was "in truth and fact, designed and intended to be used ultimately to overthrow, destroy and put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States."

But a study of the history and development of the Union Defense Guard from the day it was organized to the present time reveals that this charge in the indictment in truth and fact was designed and intended for nothing but a frame-up.

THE THREAT OF THE SILVER SHIRTS

The guard was organized by members of the Minneapolis General Drivers Union, Local 544, AFL, in August 1938, as the outgrowth and the answer to a series of vigilante and fascist threats of violence against Local 544 locally, and of actual vigilante attacks on unions in other parts of the nation during the summer of 1938.

On June 22, 1938 (see June 30, 1938 issue of the **Northwest Organizer**, official drivers' union paper), a man named Ralph H. Pierce, one of the leaders of the company-union "Associated Independent Unions" organized by the reactionary Minneapolis employers to fight organized labor, stated to leaders of Local 544 and to officials of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union that George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had raised a fund of $35,000 to import gunmen to assassinate three leaders of Local 544.

Pierce's story was given some credence, inasmuch as eight months earlier Patrick Corcoran, secretary-treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, had been assassinated by unknown gunmen; and further, that the day after Pierce said the murders were to be committed, Minneapolis police found a car containing two high-powered rifles with telescopic sights, near the Central Labor Union.

In the spring and summer of 1938, the fascist Silver Shirts were carrying on an energetic organizing campaign in the Twin Cities. Pelley, national leader of the Silver Shirts, had many times voiced his fascist program to smash organized labor. Pelley's aide, Roy Zachary, national Silver Shirt organizer, came to Minneapolis and on July 29 and August 2, 1938, the local Silver Shirts held meetings at which he openly called for fascist gangster bands to raid the teamsters' union hall.

Though there was considerable discussion within labor circles about the Silver Shirt threats, Zachary's call for a raid on the union hall was not taken too seriously until a religious opponent of fascism, Rabbi Gordon, revealed in the Minneapolis papers that George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had attended the recent Silver Shirt meeting and also at least one other three months before.

The fact that the leader of the city's anti-labor employers was attending Silver Shirt meetings convinced many unionists that there was more than just bluff behind Zachary's threats, and that it was likely Zachary had the support of at least a section of the leading anti-union employers.

It was at this time that many members of Local 544 began to feel it was necessary to take steps to protect the union hall and union leaders from Silver Shirt attacks.

NATION-WIDE ATTACKS ON LABOR

In addition to the Silver Shirts, the Associated Farmers group was also active in Minnesota during this period. On July 28 the Associated Farmers held a meeting at Litchfield, Minn., where its organizers, W. F. Schilling and Colonel Garrison, called for the formation of "axe-handle brigades" to war on organized labor.

At the same time that these threats were being voiced in and around Minneapolis, extra-legal vigilante attacks were actually being carried out against labor in other parts of the country.

In New Orleans, La., a drivers' strike had been broken by a reign of vigilante terror during which strike leaders were beaten and compelled to hide. Employers did not conceal the fact that they had paid some $12,000 to the police for "strike duty."

In Westwood, Cal., vigilantes had smashed a strike of lumber workers, one of whom was shot, thirty of whom were beaten, and more than a thousand of whom were driven with their families out of town by force.

In New York City fascists were breaking up workers' meetings in Queens.

In Jersey City Mayor Hague was sending "unofficial" gangs against union meetings and picket lines.

The LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee hearings were producing startling revelations about the methods used by Big Business to organize violent attacks against labor.

Such actions on a national scale made credible the threats of the Silver Shirts and the Associated Industries against Local 544 in Minneapolis, and resulted in the formation of the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GUARD

The guard, though organized by a group of members of Local 544, was not an official part of the union. Members of other unions were eligible to join it, and did.

During the latter part of August several meetings were held at the Drivers Hall where leading members of Local 544 told of the threats made against the union, and proposed the formation of a union defense guard.

By September about 200 members of Local 544 and other unions had approved the idea of forming a union defense body, and the Sept. 8 issue of the **Northwest Organizer** carried a story saying:

"Threats by Silver Shirts leaders and other anti-labor gangsters that their hirelings would conduct armed raids against union halls have been answered by the Executive Board of General Drivers Union Local 544 with the organization of a Union Defense Guard."

(The above newspaper account erred only in attributing organization of the defense guard to the union executive board; actually the guard was organized by leading union members, not by the executive board).

The report went on to say that the nation-wide attacks on unions "constitute a warning to labor unions everywhere to prepare to defend themselves," and the function of the guard was described as "defense of the union's picket lines, union headquarters and members against anti-labor violence."

ACTIVITIES OF THE GUARD

During the first few weeks after its organization, the Union Defense Guard met in the basement of the Drivers Hall. General discussion was held on the methods by which vigilante and fascist gangs carry out their terrorist attacks on workers' organizations. The members of the guard were thus able to familiarize themselves with the measures necessary for defense against such attacks.

The members of the guard were divided into small groups so as to facilitate rapid mobilization in the event of a surprise attack upon the unions. Most of the men went through simple calisthenics.

The members of the guard decided to acquaint themselves with the use of simple firearms so they might better be able to meet armed attacks on the union. For this purpose four .22 calibre single shot guns were secured — two target pistols and two target rifles — and target practice was held by the guard members in attendance. None of the guard members carried or possessed arms.

The four .22's and the target munitions were purchased by funds raised through the sale of tickets for a dance planned by the guard. On Dec. 17 the guard gave a dance at the Drivers Hall. The affair was open to the public and was recorded in the pages of the union paper.

Following the target practice in September, a test mobilization of the guard was held one evening, during which more than 200 union members reported. After the mobilization, all of them attended a local theatre.

The union felt that the Silver Shirts and other vigilante groups would learn of the organization of the guard and that such knowledge would dampen their ardor for an attack on the union headquarters and the union leaders. This proved to be the case, for the Silver Shirts discontinued their public activities in Minneapolis.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE GUARD

With the disappearance of the Silver Shirts, the main reason for the formation of the Union Defense Guard also disappeared. Target practice was discontinued. No other test mobilizations were held. Some of the members dropped away and gradually it became a social organization.

Once a year thereafter it would hold a public dance in the union hall. Yearly, guard members acted as ushers at Local 544's annual picnic in July, and at the union Christmas party for children in December.

The name Union Defense Guard was continued, mainly as a sort of insurance against anti-labor gangs getting any ideas about attacking the union hall. From time to time the idea of the Union Defense Guard was publicized in the union paper. For instance, a group of Coughlinite fascists tried to break up a meeting of the CIO Transport Workers Union in New York on June 16, 1939. The next week Local 66 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union addressed a proposal to the union's General Executive Board proposing that anti-fascist guards be organized in every local of the ILGWU throughout the country. These facts were duly recorded in the **Northwest Organizer.**

The last time the guard was active was in December, 1940, when guard members acted as ushers at the Christmas party sponsored by the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council at the city Armory.

Such a change in the functions of an organization or committee is not at all unusual inside the labor movement and outside. Almost every worker knows how during a strike "flying squads" and other committees are organized, which, once the strike is over and the circumstances that brought them into being removed, either dissolve automatically or change their character and activities.

WHAT ROOSEVELT FEARS

The Roosevelt Administration knows that this guard was organized to fight fascism, that its purpose was not the overthrow of the government but the defense of the labor movement against its enemies.

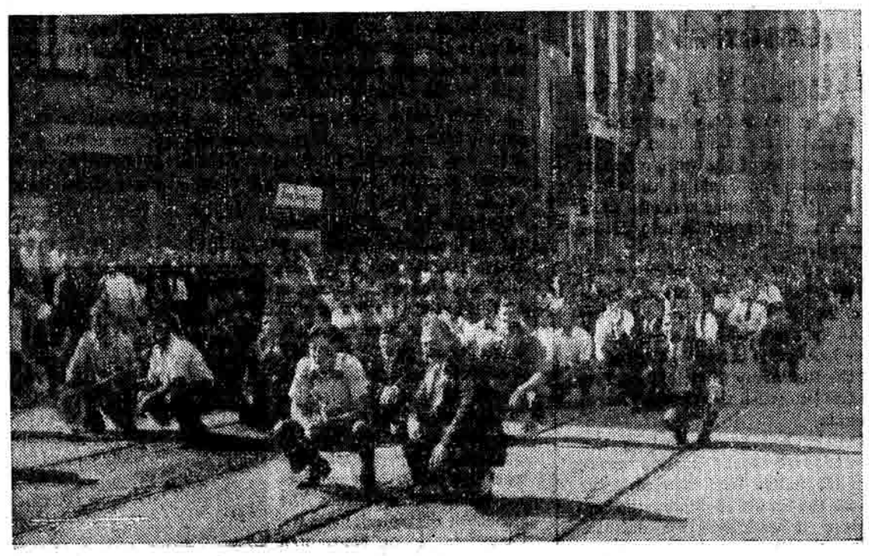
The administration knows too that with the decline of the influence and activities of the American fascist groups for the time being, the character and activities of the guard changed and disappeared.

It is not the guard itself that Roosevelt fears, but the idea contained in its formation, that the working class can trust nothing but its own organized strength in the fight against its enemies.

This he recognizes as a real threat against his plans to drag the American people into a war for imperialist profit. This is why he distorts the facts, prosecutes the 29 defendants and tries to smash the Socialist Workers Party.

And this is also why every worker and every trade union that agrees labor can trust only its own organized strength must rally to the defense of the 29.

Auto Workers On Parade



Keeping alive the great traditions of their 1937 battles, these members of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO) stage an imitation "sitdown" during the Detroit Labor Day Parade.

CIO Begins Drive To Organize All Teamsters

(Continued from page 1)

secretary of the Detroit and Wayne County CIO Industrial Union Council, already has warned the AFL Teamsters officials that the UAW and the CIO in Michigan will not tolerate gangsterism that may be used to interfere with the UCWOC organizing drive.

DRIVERS FLOCK TO CIO

"Already there has been a great response on the part of Michigan teamsters to this action of the CIO to organize teamsters thruout the nation.

"In Detroit several thousand teamsters have indicated their desire to belong to the CIO.

"In Lansing, Michigan, capitol of the state, where the Oldsmobile plant is located, we have made considerable gains.

"And teamsters in Flint, Pontiac and Monroe have informed us that they would like to join the CIO.

"This nation-wide drive which we have launched in Michigan will break the backbone of the AFL racketeers and will end sellouts and backdoor agreements which have been inflicted upon so many teamsters.

PRAISES MINNEAPOLIS MEN

"Your affiliation with the CIO in Minneapolis was a terrible blow to the AFL officials.

"You started something which has them trembling in their boots. Another blow like that—and the organization of the Michigan teamsters will be such a blow—will mean the crumbling of the AFL Teamsters Union as a national organization.

"You have made trade union history. Workers all over the United States are grateful to you. In days to come I am certain that Minneapolis will be celebrated as the birthplace of a great industrial union."

A storm of applause broke out as Turner told of the sweep of the CIO drive among the drivers of Michigan.

SUCCESS IN MIDWEST

Harry DeBoer, who has just returned from an organizing trip throughout Iowa and Nebraska, told of the success of the Ottumwa, Iowa, drivers in maintaining their union against the assaults of the scores of Tobin thugs that poured in there after the union voted to leave the AFL and join the CIO.

DeBoer also told of the new CIO charter granted the drivers in Waterloo, Iowa, who have suffered under a Tobin receivership for many months. He told of the CIO sentiment sweeping through the workers of Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska.

The evening's reports of CIO progress throughout the Midwest left no doubt but that the fight for democratic industrial unionism launched June 9th by the Minneapolis drivers is firing the imagination of drivers throughout the nation who are revolting against the Tobin dictatorship and crossing the bridge into the modern movement of the CIO.

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Newark Socialist Workers Party Files Petitions For Breitman

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. 10. — More than three times the number of nominating petitions necessary to place him on the election ballot were today filed with the Essex County Clerk on behalf of George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for election to the New Jersey General Assembly.

A statement by Arthur Burch, Newark organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, declared that the election campaign would be so conducted "that every vote cast for Breitman will be a vote cast against Roosevelt's war program and his frame-up prosecution of the 29 pro-labor, anti-war defendants awaiting trial in St. Paul."

Mass Meeting For 29 To Be Held in Akron

AKRON, Ohio — Labor Institute, an organization of Akron trade unionists and persons interested in the education and development of the labor movement, is sponsoring a mass meeting to protest the indictment of the 29 defendants by the government in St. Paul. The meeting will be held at the headquarters of Labor Institute, 84 W. Market St., Akron, Ohio, on Friday, September 13, at 8:00 P. M.

Martin Rollins, a representative of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, will speak on the history of Local 544 and role played by it and many of the defendants in making Minneapolis a union town.

Labor Institute calls on all those interested in opposing anti-labor persecutions by the government and its courts to demonstrate with it by attending the meeting.

Buy the MILITANT
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at:

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Pioneer News Co.,
238 Second Av., South

A. Peterson News Stand,
Washington Av. & B'way N.

Labor Book store,
919 Marquette Av.

Next week's issue of THE MILITANT will contain considerable material on the question of priorities unemployment and labor's answer to this problem that faces so many workers and so many unions at this time.

Labor's Own Defense Project

29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO have been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government."

This sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights must be repelled! The job of defending the victims of this prosecution is up to the workers themselves. Roosevelt's administration isn't subsidizing this defense project.

Aid the defendants by giving promptly and generously to their Defense Fund.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Room 809, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City

I enclose..... for your Defense Fund

Name .....

Address .....

.....

The Government prosecution has been condemned by the

CIO

LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

UNITED AUTO WORKERS

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

NATION

NEW REPUBLIC

and other labor and liberal spokesmen

Trotsky Memorial Speech by Farrell Dobbs

Address Delivered At The Minneapolis Memorial Meeting on Aug. 21, 1941

One year ago Comrade Trotsky sat for the last time at the work table in his Coyoacan study. He was a man without a country and at the same time a citizen of the world. Behind him were forty-four years of unceasing struggle in the interests of the world working class. He had never wavered from the decision which he made as a youth of eighteen to devote his life to the proletarian revolution.

He was co-leader with Lenin of the great October revolution which shines as the pole star for the revolutionary navigators of the world working class. It was Comrade Trotsky, our Old Man, who organized and inspired the Red Army which is now standing its ground so heroically before the guns of Hitler. It was Trotsky who led the Red Army to victory against the imperialist plunderers who tried to crush the October Revolution in its first hour of triumph.

Twice before, Comrade Trotsky had been exiled by the Czarist regime. Now, after the triumph of the Russian workers, he was again exiled from his native land, banned from the workers' state. This time at the hands of Stalin, the betrayer of October, the organizer of working class defeats. Together with his valiant wife, Natalia, Trotsky had borne the horrible grief of seeing his children, one by one, either murdered or driven to suicide by Stalin. His secretaries had fallen, one after another, victims of the mad dogs of Stalin's GPU. Trotsky had seen his co-workers of October, Lenin's central committee, the whole generation of old Bolsheviks dragged into the cellars of the Lubianka and put to death. Such were the evil fruits of the infamous Moscow "trials" through which Stalin sought also to slander the name of Trotsky and prepare the ground for his assassination. Trotsky knew all this; he understood it clearer than anyone else.

Undaunted By Persecutions

Yet he remained undaunted by these terrible blows. He did not permit it to interfere with his revolutionary work. He kept his eyes turned toward the future, toward the unsolved problems of the workers. He was very impatient with anything which stood in the way of this central task. He continued to analyze world events, to patiently explain to the workers the program necessary for a solution of their problems. He sought constantly for the widest possible forces with which to rebuild the revolutionary movement after the debacle of Stalinism. He was ever alert to ferret out and completely expose any trace of false ideology which might creep into the movement. At every opportunity, through all available mediums he vigorously sounded the clarion call to class struggle. Trotsky's was the greatest mind, his the stoutest heart of our day, and he was devoted unconditionally to the service of the world working class.

One year ago this great revolutionary sat for the last time at the work table in his Coyoacan study. At his back stood an agent of the GPU. The murderous hand of Stalin had finally reached into the presence of Leon Trotsky. Stalin drove a pick-axe into Trotsky's brain, seeking to destroy that which he feared more than anything else in the entire world.

Then came the agonizing vigil, the desperate attempts to save his life, the hopes, the fears, the cruel grief of that short span of hours which seemed to pass more slowly than centuries. And finally the last fatal message: our beloved Old Man was no longer among the living.

Stalin's Guilt Has Been Established

The whole world knows today who killed Trotsky. He accused Stalin on his death bed. He had already proven Stalin's guilt in the events of the May 24 assault. The assassination and the subsequent efforts to protect the assassin have been typical of the widely known GPU methods. Stalin's motives are abundantly clear. His betrayal of the workers in the Soviet Union, China, Germany, France Spain; the entire working class in the World War II — this endless chain of betrayals has driven Stalin to ever greater violence against the working class. He did not hesitate to murder the whole generation of old Bolsheviks, and he desired the death of Trotsky whom he feared more than all the others. The hatred of an apostate against those who represent what he once claimed to be, accounts in part for the sadistic violence of Stalin's methods.

Both Stalin and Trotsky will be remembered in the recorded history of mankind. Stalin will receive mention in a brief and shameful paragraph. He will go down in history as the greatest betrayer of all time, a super Cain, Borgia, Judas.

Comrade Trotsky will stand on an historical plane with Marx, Engels and Lenin. He will be loved as a champion of the toiling masses, a gladiator of the working class, a builder of the new society, one of the greatest creators of all time.

FARRELL DOBBS

The death of Leon Trotsky has been a terrible loss. It came at a very critical juncture in history. The workers are again plunged into the bloodbath of imperialist war. They are again confronted with widespread treachery and betrayal by the leaders of their mass organizations. There is great need for the firm hand and brilliant mind of Trotsky. He could perform even greater deeds than those already recorded during the eventful years of his heroic life.

Stalin killed Trotsky and removed him from the scene of immediate conflict. But he did not, he could not destroy him. The whole of Trotsky is preserved in his writings. He has left behind all the necessary tools for the proletarian revolutionary fighters. We still have him to help us. It is only necessary to learn how to use these tools and then courageously to apply them.

Comrade Trotsky was a creator of profound ideas. But part of his greatness lay in the fact that he was not entirely a creator. He also could learn from others. He had nothing but contempt for the sniveling pride of the so-called independent thinkers, those little men who are too wrapped up in self-admiration to learn the lessons handed down by their revolutionary forebears. He placed before everything else the need to learn from the great working class leaders. Trotsky built upon the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. He learned to understand their ideas and to master their method. He took this knowledge and applied it in the modern conditions of the daily struggle. The power of Trotsky was above all the power of Marxism.

The Struggle Against Stalinism

After the death of Lenin, the rising Stalinist bureaucracy plunged the workers' vanguard in the Soviet Union and throughout the world into a horrible swamp of confusion and disorientation. There was widespread demoralization among the Bolshevik cadres and a rapidly swelling casualty list of the moral victims of Stalinism. It was Trotsky who cut through all this with the sharp knife of Marxist analysis and exposed the reactionary character of Stalin's policies. It was Trotsky who came forward with a program that shone with the brilliance of the rising sun as it pierces a morning fog. Trotsky, the Marxist, the Leninist, brushed away the confusion, showed the way out and thus saved many of the best militants.

The degeneration of the workers' state under Stalin has led to a serious alienation of sympathy for the Soviet Union among the world working class. Renegades of all breeds and varieties have helped to increase this isolation of the Soviet workers from their class. Many are the pseudo-Marxists who have tried to prove that Soviet Russia today is very little different from Hitlerite Germany. The crimes of Stalin against the workers of the world have in every instance served as the foundation for these foul theories, for this disorientation of the working masses.

It was Trotsky who took the lead in the fight against Stalin inside the Russian Communist Party. Then, after the German debacle and the rise of Hitler, he explained the qualitative change which had taken place inside the Russian party: that it had become only a caricature of a communist movement. Therefore, Stalin must be overthrown by revolutionary means. It was necessary immediately to begin the task of reorganizing the revolutionary movement for a world struggle against Stalinism.

However, in sharp contrast to the charlatans who cleave to the false petty-bourgeois concepts of democracy and morality, who see Stalinism as the natural product of Bolshevism, who renounce Marxism only to turn toward the bourgeois democrats or the half-way house of a mythical Third Camp — in sharp contrast to all these philistines, Trotsky was able to chart a course of struggle against Stalin without turning his back upon the workers' state, the October revolution, Marxism, and the whole future of the working class. Trotsky taught the vanguard to struggle for the overthrow of the Stalin regime, but at the same time to stand for the unconditional defense of the USSR. True, he explained, under Stalin the Soviet Union has become a degenerated workers state, but that is a matter for the workers themselves to correct. Degenerated though the Soviet Union is, its economy is still based on nationalized property and monopoly of foreign trade. The capitalists have been and remain expropriated. This the workers must defend against all the imperialist bandits.

Trotsky's Last Great Struggle

The last great political battle of Comrade Trotsky's career was waged against the petty-bourgeois minority of the Socialist Workers Party. They tried to force the party to renounce the defense of the Soviet Union. They tried to turn the organization into the shambles of a social democratic debating society. In this fight Comrade Trotsky wrote a series of documents which must be carefully and thoroughly studied by every serious proletarian fighter. They are a virtual handbook on the most pressing problems of the day.

If Trotsky were in the Soviet Union today, or if the ideas of Trotskyism were being applied to wage revolutionary war against Hitler, the German army would literally melt before the political and military assault of the Red Army. The German workers would return home to settle accounts with their own fascist overlords and a gigantic revolutionary wave would arise to sweep the last remnants of capitalism from the face of the earth.

It was not only on the question of defense of the workers' state that Trotsky maintained theoretical clarity in the program of the proletarian vanguard. He took the lead in exposing the false and treacherous Stalinist policy of the "Peoples' Front" and all the other criminal maneuvers of the Kremlin bureaucrats. His brilliant pen poured forth devastating and unanswerable condemnation upon the anarchists and syndicalists for their miserable capitulation before the bourgeois democrats. He pilloried the decrepit social democrats for their bootlicking support of the imperialist war lords. He fought militantly and constantly against every deviation from Marxist policy in the class struggle.

"No confidence in the bourgeois democrats!" thundered Trotsky. "No support of the democratic war mongers. War is inevitable and fascism a constant danger as long as capitalism exists. There is no course other than revolutionary proletarian struggle against capitalism." He explained this over and over, in connection with many different events, but he always hammered hardest on these fundamental points.

Trotsky and The Trade Unions In War

One of the last of his great contributions was the forging of a proletarian military policy for this bloody epoch of imperialist war: the military training of worker soldiers and worker officers under trade union control. Together with this he left us an uncompleted but nonetheless important document on the whole trade union question. The capitalist class, with the aid of the Tobins, Greens and Hillmans, is seeking to bind the trade unions into the apparatus of state. The ruthless campaign of the dictator, Tobin, who is receiving the full support of the capitalist state in his campaign to smash the CIO union of the Minneapolis motor transport and allied workers is an eloquent example of what is in store for the workers under such an alliance between the government and the top officialdom of the trade union movement.

Pointing to the grave danger of this tendency toward subverting the trade unions into instruments of capitalist repression, Trotsky explains that if the trade unions are to be effective working class instruments they must be kept completely independent from the capitalist state. A second task, flowing from this need, he indicates, is constant vigilance and unceasing struggle to preserve trade union democracy.

Trotsky's mastery of Marxism, his ability to apply these ideas and methods in modern conditions gave him a superb power of analysis and a crystal clear vehicle of expression. His method was the scientific approach of dialectical analysis. He knew how to understand each event in the historical chain and how to place each event in proper relation to all other historic phenomena so as clearly to recognize the movement of the contending forces in the class struggle. Every proletarian fighter, no matter from what corner of the world he might come, would find in the course of a discussion with Trotsky a deeper and richer understanding of events in his own country and on the world arena.

There was nothing mystical about this power of Trotsky's. The fountain of knowledge from which he drew his wisdom is available for all. Even more than that, he has greatly enriched this treasure chest of revolutionary learning by his own contributions. None of us can be Trotskys. He was a giant, even among giants. There will be other and possibly even greater Trotskys. But that is not an indispensable minimum for success. We need only use to the best of our ability the tools which he left for us.

Why Roosevelt Attacks The Trotskyists

We have been charged by Comrade Trotsky with the responsibility of carrying out his testament: "I have confidence in the victory of the Fourth International. Go Forward!" Our work of the past year has shown that we have the ability to use his tools and to carry out his last command. Our party has grown. Our press has been greatly expanded. We have sunk our roots deeper and deeper into the ranks of the workers, and they have responded to our call in increasing numbers. The attention we are receiving from the capitalist government is eloquent testimony of our ability to go forward.

We carry on in times of great world crisis. Heavy responsibilities rest upon our shoulders. Roosevelt is striving mightily to plunge the American workers headlong into a shooting war. The war party of American imperialism is finding it very difficult to whip up mass enthusiasm for the war program. They sense in this attitude the dormant seeds of working class revolt. There is no way for them to tell how close to the surface this danger lies. The capitalist class has no confidence in itself nor in its outworn system. This is especially true of its most conscious section. They have a mortal fear of the workers. The Roosevelt administration is thus driven to lash out viciously against the anti-war forces, especially in the ranks of the working class.

We, the Trotskyists, have the high honor of being the first political party attacked through the police powers of the war-mongering Roosevelt administration. We are the first to be indicted by the federal government. More than anything else this testifies to the growing power of Trotsky's ideas. The Stalinists call us fifth-columnists, agents of the fascists, and they urge Roosevelt to go the limit against us. But the bourgeoisie is not confused. They know what we are. They know that we stand in the vanguard of the protetariat. The capitalist state strikes first at the working class party which has the most correct, and therefore, to them the most dangerous, program. Roosevelt has struck first at the Trotskyists.

We do not shrink, we do not retreat in the face of this assault. We follow the example of our Old Man. We stand firm. Nor shall we flinch in the fight, whatever the odds.

Comrade Trotsky had unbounded confidence in the working class. He treated with contempt those mental incompetents who seek to fasten upon the workers the responsibility for the crimes of their leaders. Many are the brazen cynics who say that the workers get the kind of leadership they deserve. What monstrosities these pompous little fatheads are who speak with disdain of the heroic warriors who are the proletarian masses. Our Old Man set an example for us which we must never forget. He never blamed the workers for defeats. He sought always to draw for them the lessons of their experiences, to teach and inspire them, to give them proper leadership.

We Are Confident Of The Future

This confidence of Trotsky's in the workers was not based on superficial sentiment. He understood the dynamic power of the proletariat. He had learned well the lessons of the class struggle. At the time of his death he was writing an article on this very subject. He stated that it could be set down as an historic law that the mass radicalization of the workers must precede a fascist struggle for power; that fascism could conquer only if the proletarian vanguard failed to lead the radical masses to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. Such a stage of mass radicalization is high on the agenda of the American workers. We are determined that this historic opportunity shall not be lost. We follow Comrade Trotsky's example in our preparations and we go forward with his confidence.

We shall defend Marxism against all renegades and revisionists. We have nothing but contempt for bourgeois opinion. We will stamp out every trace of this alien class influence which may seek to penetrate our ranks on the escalator of petty bourgeois confusionism. It is our firm resolve to strive for the fullest assimilation of the ideas and methods of Trotskyism. These we shall develop in modern conditions and then consistently apply them in struggle.

Comrade Trotsky often quoted these words from Hegel: "Nothing great is done in this world without passion." In this bloody epoch of all-out struggle we stand and shall continue to stand in the front line positions of the class war. We take our places in the vanguard of the proletariat with absolutely no reservations. Nothing is more important to us. We entertain no petty thoughts of personal security in this world which is aflame with the death agony of capitalism. We fight with the burning passion of men and women who are conscious that the future of all mankind depends upon them. We struggle for the emancipation of the human race through the revolutionary working class. We are confident of victory.

The Labor Movement and the Draftees

To Win Their Support, The Trade Unions Must Fight For The Soldiers' Needs

By VICTOR ANDERSON

One of the important problems facing the American labor movement is that of its relation to the army. The induction of tens of thousands of young men into the armed forces makes of the army a powerful new force in society, one which will undoubtedly play an important role in coming social struggles. Unlike the old small professional army, the new and large army of draftees is exceedingly dynamic and all social events have immediate reflections within its ranks.

The strike in the North American Aviation plant has already made clear that the government will attempt to use the army as a lever against the working class. How far the government can succeed will depend upon the extent to which the labor movement can win the sympathies of the draftees and demonstrate to them that their interests are the same as that of the workers.

Unfortunately, the largest section of the labor movement is hardly aware of this problem. No important steps have been taken by any large union to demonstrate that the unions can and will lead the struggle for better conditions for the soldiers. Far worse than simple neglect, a large part of the reactionary labor bureaucracy has actively fought against any such campaign.

HOW GREEN REPELS THE DRAFTEES

This section, typified by William Green, antagonized thousands of draftees by supporting the administration move to extend the conscription period. No resounding speeches about the necessity of defending democracy will make these young draftees forget that these representatives of labor lined up together with the leaders of bourgeois society to extend their term of service in an army they did not want to join.

The net result of this stupid short-sighted policy, which is the logical consequence to support of the war itself, has been to make the draftees, at the very best, completely passive in regard to labor and in some cases opposed to labor's struggles for higher wages and better conditions. The bosses' propaganda depicting the unions as demanding exorbitant wages and unjustified demands has been made all the more believable as a result of this policy.

This criminal policy on the part of the leadership of labor comes on top of the steady stream of capitalist propaganda designed to make the draftees anti-labor. Strikes are pictured as unpatriotic and labor militants are described as fifth columnists and Bolsheviks. Over the radio and in the press, through all the powerful mechanism of bourgeois propaganda, pitying pictures are drawn comparing the soldier, nobly sacrificing his life for meager wages, and the worker, self-seeking and unpatriotic.

These are the obstacles with which the labor movement has to contend. The policy followed so far by the largest part of the AFL, CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods has not only failed to cope with this problem, but has resulted in strengthening the reactionary ideas which the capitalist class strives to instill among the rank and file of its army.

The problem then, is what program can the unions follow in order to win over the sympathies of the conscript army?

A simple way out for many unions has been to make a financial contribution to the United Service Organization. It should be absolutely clear that the USO is but another agency of the capitalist class, officially supported by the government and army and navy. Operating on the principle of "give them enough entertainment so that they'll forget their grievances," the purpose of the USO is to stimulate the morale of the draftees. The complete failure of the USO is apparent today, with the President and Congressmen forced to openly speak of the poor morale in the army. The USO cannot succeed in its purpose, since more than entertainment and recreation is necessary for morale. Soldiers must feel that they have a real stake in the army. To develop this in a capitalist army today is impossible.

To think that simply because an occasional labor bureaucrat is used as window dressing, the USO is therefore pro-labor is sheer nonsense. The USO will do nothing to solidarize labor and the army, but on the contrary, its propaganda and speakers are designed to do just the opposite — to turn the army into a vehicle that can be used against any militant actions by the unions.

WHAT THE LABOR MOVEMENT CAN DO

What is it that the draftees want? The uppermost demand on the part of the draftees in the past few months has been that they should be released from service at the end of their year's term. A militant campaign by the labor movement against the draft extension would have made the union leadership extremely popular. Instead, a fascist type like Lindbergh, because of his opposition to the draft extension, is becoming the hero of the camps.

The draftees are greatly dissatisfied with their wages. The difference between wages in a factory or a salary in an office and $21 a month is so great as to result in immediate and unanimous objection on the part of the soldiers. A militant campaign by the unions for trade union wages for the soldiers would meet with a tremendous response from the camps. If this demand were put forth and widely publicized during every large strike, it would be very difficult for the government to use federal troops to smash strikes. Indeed, the government would take special pains to make sure that the draftees were far removed from where they could come into contact with such labor demands.

Let the unions carry on a wide legislative campaign for this demand and the fraternal bonds between soldier and worker will become far too close to be broken by the bosses.

A struggle by the unions against the autocratic and dictatorial regime within the army would also be very popular. The daily reports in the newspapers of army jail breaks, court martials and other evidence of protest against this brutal set up reveal how unpopular army discipline is among the rank and file soldiers. An aggressive campaign carried on by the unions for democratic rights might very well result in some form of Congressional action and would in a short time win many new supporters to the labor movement from the draft army.

No, there is no lack of real demands on the part of the draftees. It only needs a real interest by the unions for them to be lifted from the level of mutterings and suppressed grievances to the plane of first rate issues in the class struggle. The truth is that the labor movement is the only instrument which can give voice to the demands of the soldiers.

TODAY'S CAMPAIGN FOR THE UNIONS

Individual workers here and there have proposed in their local unions that dances be run for the draftees, committees be set up to send the local draftees cigarettes, gifts, etc. All such actions can play only an extremely limited and secondary role. To attempt to win the draftees over on the basis solely of such a program is impossible. The trade unions are more than a social organization and must struggle on the basis of the fundamental needs of the soldiers.

The main task now for the unions is that of a programmatic and propagandistic struggle. Through an unceasing agitational campaign the unions must make every draftee realize that only the labor movement represents his interests. At the present time, the great mass of the men in the army are looking for leadership. So far, the only figures to call even partially for what the soldiers want are the Lindberghs and Wheelers. As a result, they have achieved a certain following among the draftees. Let this tendency continue and gather sweep, as it undoubtedly will if uncontested and unchecked, and we shall have the full flower of anti-labor fascism in the army — the grave digger of the organized labor movement.

To sum up then, the labor movement must conduct a broad organized campaign directed towards the army based on the following program:

Against the draft extension —release the draftees!

Trade union wages for all draftees!

Full democratic rights for draftees! Against the dictatorial regime within the army!

Special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the unions!

Military training of workers financed by the government and under the control of the trade unions!

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

By ALBERT PARKER

The Kind of War That Negroes Can Support

The Negro people are not pacifists. They view with suspicion the current talk about a war for democracy that will be conducted by a Jim Crow army and navy that will use equipment and munitions made in factories that refuse to hire Negroes. Rightly so.

But the Negro people have been ready to fight in the past on behalf of progress for society. They fought bravely in the American Revolutionary War in 1776, when this country won its independence. They fought bravely and eagerly in the Civil War of 1861 when the unity of this nation was preserved, the political power of the South broken, and slavery abolished. Even in World War I, when they were told by their leaders that they would get their share of democracy after the war was won, they established an impressive fighting record.

Today they are justly suspicious about being fooled as they were in 1917. But they are ready to fight another war if it will be in their interests.

They are ready to fight against the anti-democratic forces at home, the ruling class that starves, cheats and insults them, that kicks them around, uses them and ignores them. In this war they will give their last drop of blood; no one will have to sell it to them with speeches; no one will have to try to sell them bonds to get them to give everything they have for its victory.

History will look back at it and call it another Revolutionary War, or maybe the Second Civil War, or the Third American Revolution. But the name won't bother the Negro people so long as they know it will overthrow the whole system of Jim Crowism in all its spheres and permit them to raise their children in security and equality.

Once a serious struggle begins, and the Negro people see on the banners of one army the slogan, "Full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people," they will rush to enlist in its ranks.

The Fighting Spirit Exists Now

How can we be so sure of this? Because of everything we see around us today. There are some who look at the Uncle Toms and misleaders of the Negroes, the men who sell themselves for a government job or even just a pat on the shoulders by their oppressors — and they say, "My God! What ever makes you think the colored people will ever wake up and fight for their rights?"

But we do not make their mistake of confusing the Negro people with a handful of treacherous and self-seeking lackeys who are only too pleased to have the world think they represent the Negro masses.

Even now, while the Uncle Toms, the Pickenses and Pattersons and Chaplain Robinsons, are doing their best to confuse the Negro masses, there is one example after another of what heroic far-sightedness the masses are capable of.

There is the example of the Negro March On Washington, and the little colored woman, 77 years old, who exemplified the response of the masses to a just fight. She lived in Florida and spent all her time selling buttons to raise money for the March so her people could have jobs and equality. She had money enough to get only as far as Savannah, Ga., about 700 miles short of Washington, but she swore she would get to the capitol even if it meant she would have to walk the rest of the way.

Of course, Randolph and White and the others called off the march, and she was probably a little discouraged. But Randolph and White cannot kill that fighting spirit.

There is the example of the brutality of the white MPs to the Negro draftees at Fort Bragg, and of Private Ned Turman who spoke up against it and was shot dead after he resisted attacks and cried, "I'm going to break up you MPs beating us colored soldiers!"

True, there are men like Chaplain H. A. Robinson at the same fort, a Negro belly-crawler who tries to cover up and justify the murder of Turman, but he cannot cover up or destroy that fight-spirit of Turman's which sends an inspirational thrill through militant Negroes every time they think that here was a man who did not hesitate to die fighting for democracy.

Why has that war not begun yet? Surely the Negro masses know what they want. But the trouble is that the Uncle Toms work so energetically beclouding the issues that the masses don't know how to get what they want.

This is the task for the militant, class-conscious Negroes today. They must study the past experiences, they must learn what exactly they have to contend with, just what forces they must fight against, what methods they must use, who their allies and friends are. They must prepare themselves for leadership, and then go out and organize their brothers and sisters for this righteous war.

They will learn that their enemies are the capitalist class, the bosses, and their political organs, the Republican and Democratic Parties. They will learn that they can get even the smallest concessions from these enemies by only fighting with all their might. They will learn that there is another and a much stronger force that has reason to fight and hate the capitalist system, and that is the labor movement which is also oppressed and exploited by the bosses, and they will come to see that they must make common cause with the workers and fight side by side with them against their common enemy. And they will learn through their own experiences that the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, represent the most consistent force fighting against capitalism and Jim Crow.

Famous American Labor Trials

The United States vs. William D. Haywood et al.

By Lydia Beidel

"THE CASE OF THE 166 WOBBLIES"
Sentenced to jail in United States Penitentiaries in August, 1918.

Twenty-nine members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Motor Transport and Allied Workers, Local 544-CIO, are today awaiting trial in St. Paul on an indictment brought against them by the Department of Justice at the instigation of the war-mongering national administration and some of the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The developments in this Minnesota case bring strikingly to mind many of the similar circumstances surrounding the famous case reviewed below.

"We are not criminals and not in prison because we committed crimes or conspired to commit them. From the beginning justice has been denied us and the truth of our case withheld from consideration of the public . . . . We are working men, conscious of our position in society and guilty only of championing the cause of the class to which we belong . . . . Our imprisonment was the starting-point of the open-shop drive, of the movement toward establishing the Industrial Court, the Landis Award, and the recent wage-cut, union wrecking campaign of the militant employing class . . . . Liberty is sweet to any man in prison, but not sweet enough to us to be purchased at the price of principle."

—Open Letter to President Harding, signed in August, 1922, by 52 I. W. W. defendants at Leavenworth Penitentiary, refusing to apply for individual amnesty.

BACKGROUND OF THE CASE

President Wilson and the Congress of the United States had declared war on Germany. "Civil peace" was necessary, and that meant terrorizing the working class into acceptance of the war regime.

At the same time shrewd little Samuel Gompers, boss of the AFL, pledged his organization to 100% support of the war and rushed to Attorney-General Palmer of the Department of Justice with a proposition: Smash the I.W.W.

Gompers had tried vainly for years to combat the fighting philosophy of industrial unionism. Here was his chance to get rid of a rival and build himself up as a war-mongering "patriot".

Palmer agreed, and a wave of Department of Justice assaults began, aimed primarily at the I. W.W. but hitting an untold number of militant workers belonging to other organizations or simply fighting for decent working conditions.

The climax came on September 5, 1917, when, in more than 50 cities, Department of Justice men invaded I.W.W. headquarters and the homes of individuals with warrants which the courts later declared "void and illegal", and confiscated "several thousand pounds" of printed material. A few days later 166 members of the I.W.W. were arrested and on September 28 indicted for "criminal conspiracy".

THE INDICTMENT

The indictment contained five counts, charging the defendants with having:

1. "unlawfully and feloniously conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together by force to prevent, hinder and delay the execution" of laws covering the Selective Service Act, the Espionage Act, the act declaring a state of war against Germany, certain war-time appropriation bills and sections of the Penal Code;

2. conspired to "injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate a great number of citizens of the U. S." (employers of labor) in the free exercise of their right to profiteer on sales of war supplies to the government;

3. attempted to induce 10,000 draft eligibles (not one was ever named or brought into court to testify!) not to register and to persuade 5,000 draftees (nobody ever saw one of these either) to desert;

4. conspired to "cause insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty" in the armed forces of the U. S. in a time of war;

5. conspired to execute a "certain scheme and artifice to defraud the employers of labor" by mailing propaganda materials (2,020 crimes — one for each piece mailed!).

17,020 crimes were charged against each one of the 166 defendants!

THE TRIALS

Trials of the 166 I.W.W.'s took place in the Federal Courts of Chicago, Sacramento, Wichita, Omaha and San Diego, the largest number (113) going before a jury in the court of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis in Chicago.

In Sacramento the defendants, in protest against an obvious frame-up, refused to defend themselves, remaining mute while witness after witness poured out perjured testimony. Their silence was broken only once when, upon hearing sentence read, they arose and sang the "International".

At Chicago, the trial displayed every evil and farcical aspect of a political frame-up. It began in April, 1918 and continued for five months. Defense witnesses were intimidated and arrested for admitting membership in the I.W.W. The newspapers wallowed in lurid stories of I.W.W. "crimes". A bomb went off mysteriously in the Federal Court House itself. Influential people concerned with the defense were told 'in secrecy" that the Department of Justice was in possession of evidence against the defendants "too important to be presented at the trial."

Washington interceded early in the case and set the tone for the trial. The first prosecutor was removed and supplanted by a hand-picked agent of Palmer. The first jury, upon suggestion of the Department of Justice, was summarily dismissed before completed and a new one of "better" composition selected.

Although the prisoners were theoretically on trial as individuals and not as members of an organization (the U. S. Department of Labor itself having found the I.W.W. to be a legal organization devoted to economic ends), every shred of evidence submitted dealt with the program and policies of the I.W.W. Judge Landis justified this procedure by claiming that the documents indicated the "frame of mind" of the defendants.

It was proven that the I.W.W. had conducted strikes; that it had sent $3000 in strike relief to Bisbee, Arizona; that a pamphlet by Pouget entitled "Sabotage" had been circulated; that one of the organizers had suggested "a general strike" in defense against vigilante and government terror; that Bill Haywood had authorized a strike by telegram; that the defendants were almost all members of the I.W.W.

The fifth count of the indictment was stricken out at the opening of the trial and the other four were completely ignored so far as proof of guilt was concerned.

Two prisoners (one an Oxford graduate) went insane as a result of torture; one died before the trials began.

THE DEFENSE

The General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. had to face as vicious a battle outside as the defendants did inside the courts. Mail from its headquarters was arbitrarily marked "Nixie IWW" and confiscated without warning or explanation. The express companies were persuaded to refuse to handle defense literature shipments.

On December 17, 1917, U. S. marshals and detectives invaded Defense Committee headquarters and occupied them for 12 days. When, at the end of that time, a court order commanded their withdrawal, they left in a ten-ton truck loaded with defense literature, envelopes, collection blanks and even a considerable — and to the Defense Committee, valuable — quantity of blank paper.

But the Defense Committee persisted and succeeded in raising a magnificent defense fund.

SENTENCES

The Sacramento defendants were all found guilty and given heavy jail sentences. Some of the defendants in other cities were dismissed.

In Chicago, the case went to the jury on August 17, 1918. The twelve "good men and true" examined the 15,000 documents introduced by both sides as well the the 40,000-page record — and returned in 25 minutes with a verdict of "guilty on all counts".

On August 30, Judge Landis passed sentence. Like sledge-hammer blows came the terms: 20 years, 10 years, 20 years, 5 years, 20 years, 1 year, 20 years, 10 years—an aggregate of 878 years in jail for all the Chicago defendants!

Two prisoners — each having received the minimum of 1 year and 1 day — muttered in protest against the ghastly terms meted out to their comrades. Whereupon Judge Landies summarily changed their sentences to 20 years each. "The U. S. has seen fit to make me the judge in this case," was his retort to the storm of indignation raised by this action.

The defense promptly entered a motion for appeal. The judge countered with a speed equalled only by his brazenness and slapped fines ranging from $5,000 to $20,000 on the prisoners — a sum, with court costs, totalling $2,570,000! — and cancelled bail pending the appeal.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASE

On July 28, 1919, Bill Haywood was granted bail and bonded out, leaving the country for the U. S. S. R. where he remained until his death.

The case was appealed to the Federal Circuit Court and on December 9, 1920 the sentences and fines on Counts I and II were struck out although a new trial was denied. In the same year, 44 convictions were reversed and the misconduct of the public prosecutor and Judge Landis denounced by the higher courts.

In April, 1921, the U. S. Supreme Court denied a plea for a new trial.

Most of the prisoners served from 4 to 5 years until released by a general post-war amnesty extended to political prisoners and C. O.'s.

THE QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL AMNESTY

As a move to break the morale and solidarity of the I.W.W. prisoners, President Harding in 1922 offered them freedom if they petitioned him individually. The prisoners at Leavenworth Penitentiary consulted among themselves. Sixteen of them capitulated; three others, all dying of tuberculosis, were reluctantly persuaded to request amnesty on the grounds of health; the 52 remaining prisoners drew up and submitted to President Harding an Open Letter explaining why they disdained his offer.

They denied they were criminals and declared that, having been condemned as an organization and not as individuals, they would remain in jail until all could leave together. Four concepts, they said, were sacred to them and could not be denied:

1. the class struggle;
2. the international solidarity of labor;
3. the criticism of the so-called "rights of private property";
4. the conviction that wars "are largely the result of capitalist intrigues for plunder and spheres of influence".

Their reply was a long one and at the end it turned from President Harding, president of the plutocracy, to the class which knew that 166 men had served long sentences in jail and some had died because the class struggle was their first thought and first devotion:

"To those who know the truth, we say: 'Go, traveller, to Sparta, and say that we lie here on the spot at which we were stationed to defend our country.'"

'Fortune' Says Bosses Must Learn More From The Fascists

A sensational issue of the *Fortune* magazine indicates that America's Sixty Families are playing with the idea of resorting to fascist demagogy.

Fortune has the nature of a programmatic journal for the American bourgeoisie. The August issue of 178 pages is devoted to one single subject: "Total War for the U. S." A nine-point declaration outlines the problem: "This issue of *Fortune* is based on the premise that, shooting or not shooting, the U. S. is in the war . . . Yet, in a world of war, the U. S. yearns for peace — tomorrow morning." Its leading editorial, entitled "This Would Be Victory," sets the keynote for every article in the issue. The subtitle of the editorial is, **"Whose revolution it is — Hitler's or ours? In the answer lies a great new vision of democracy."**

A few quotations with explanatory remarks will indicate the trend of thought: The editorial begins with the announcement that it "is total war . . . a total effort in which the U. S. is blundering . . . We do not yet know what we are fighting for. And until we do know we cannot win." This is an outright admission of the failure to date of Roosevelt's war aims to convince the people. We are not fighting "to reestablish the past," continues the editorial, for this is impossible.

The article likewise discards Roosevelt's argument that we are fighting for democracy. "How do we know that the mechanism of international democracy, as we have used it in the past, will work in the future? The answer is that we know it will not work." Roosevelt has been telling us just the opposite.

A HITLER "REVOLUTION" PROPOSED

Then in a bold headline, the editorial declares: "THIS IS A REVOLUTION." "If any future lies ahead for us . . . then we know it must be a radical future. It must be revolutionary." The editorial describes the "nature of this revolution" as "a revolution against scarcity. Its origins are want and the fear of want. Its motive force is the idea of plenty. The deep and restless desire of the peoples of the earth is to establish, upon the ruins of the scarcity that has hitherto enslaved them, an economy of plenty—plenty not just for the few but for all. This is an idea peculiar to industrial man. And for the first time in history, it is a reasonable hope."

So that the people who pay a $1 an issue for **Fortune** may not become alarmed that the magazine has come out for Trotskyism, the editorial immediately explains that this "revolution" it speaks of is connected with **Hitler:**

"Adolf Hitler is cruel. He deals in murder and in lies. With regard to the Christian virtues he is the Antichrist. Yet within himself he has been fatefully honest. He has had the courage to be honest. And therefore he has had the courage to be radical. In a literal sense he is riding the revolution. It has come to be known as HIS revolution. And the vision of plenty that is offered to the world is HIS New Order. We of the democracies have not had courage. We have been neither radical nor honest . . . But this is NOT Hitler's revolution. It need not be. And if WE are honest and radical it will not be."

In the next section of the editorial under the heading, "THE SUICIDE OF DEMOCRACY," is a theoretical explanation of the contradiction between the "concept of nationalism" which was "inherited from prescientific ages" and the development of the "world market." This section explains the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and the economic causes of the poverty of the masses, unemployment, etc.

"The world of international democracy, in short, was founded upon an inherent conflict—the conflict between industry and nationalism. And the world of international democracy is now collapsing because it actually encouraged the development of both of these conflicting forces, without providing a solution for the conflict. It has racked itself to pieces."

"And it is in the light of this conflict, and of our failure to solve it," points out the article, "that the meaning of Hitler becomes clear." That is, **Fortune** suggests the building of American fascism in the image of Hitler's "New Order."

FORTUNE NOMINATES A LEADER

The next section calls for the construction of "AN INTERNATIONAL PARTY." Apparently the laws which apply to international political organizations of the working class do not apply to parallel organizations of the bourgeoisie. **Fortune** even declares that this international party would have a "revolutionary character." The rest of the article outlines a possible platform for this international party — and the $1 an issue reader of **Fortune** may relax, for **Fortune** proposes that the "voice" of this party shall be none other than Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Fortune prints a map of the world showing that the United States' geographical position destines it for world leadership. It prints graphs and tables on organizing the entire national economy from the presidency on down for total war. It includes beautifully colored examples of ideal posters to whip up the war spirit among the masses.

It includes an ideal menu whereby four people can live handsomely on $13 a week, thereby proving that the people can easily give up butter for the sake of guns.

FORTUNE AND THE UNIONS

Woven throughout all the articles is the concern of **Fortune** over the problem of tying the labor movement to Wall Street's war. Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray, Daniel Tobin receive high praise as labor "statesmen." John L. Lewis is lumped with the fifth column for his isolationist stand. The key question in the labor movement in **Fortune's** opinion is its attitude on war. Of "two of the principal issues" in the CIO, it declares, "the issue of the Communists and the issue of the CIO's attitude toward the war — the Communist is obviously the least important."

In the arrest of 29 members of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers Party at St. Paul, Daniel Tobin and the FBI proved that this same thesis holds true for the AFL. Roosevelt and Tobin are pressing for imprisonment of the 29 for their opposition to war.

War is indeed the key question facing America today. If Roosevelt's method of dragging the people into war proves to be dangerously lagging and faced with failure, then Wall Street is prepared to resort to fascism. Naturally Wall Street prefers to avoid the fascist solution — it hopes pressure on Japan, for instance, will provide the necessary catalyst. **But it is prepared to resort to fascism.** Let that fact sink into the mind of every worker in this nation.

The Stalinists and The Question of Aid To The Soviet Union

By JACK WEBER

The Stalinists and Aid To The USSR

From the very start Roosevelt has felt perfectly free to draw a sharp distinction between aid given to "democratic" England and aid given to Soviet Russia. Aid to England is given in accordance with the lease-lend act, which means without any expectation of payment, now or in the future, except in the exaction of imperialist advantages. Not the slightest move has been made by the President to have Congress include Russia in lease-lend aid. On the contrary, he has expressly announced that all aid would be "sold" at market prices.

The Stalinists wax loudly indignant at this treatment of the USSR by Roosevelt. They make "demands" on "their" government that this discrimination cease and that all-out aid be shipped at once in every form to the USSR. To make this demand the Stalinists naturally found it necessary to change their attitude to aid for Great Britain. Now they always couple the two together. After all, they feel, if they make no distinction between aid to one and aid to the other, —why should the U. S. government do so?

Stalin gave aid to the Spanish Loyalist government in the same way that Roosevelt proposes to give aid to Stalin. The analogy is quite exact in two ways. First of all, Stalin forced the loyalists to pay heavily in gold for the munitions so badly needed. Secondly the loyalists were blackmailed into making tremendous political concessions to get aid at all There is even another aspect to the analogy; namely, that Stalin waited with his aid until it became clear that the Popular Front Spanish government would actually put up some kind of fight and not succumb in short order to the fascists.

Roosevelt-Churchill are doing precisely this same thing with respect to Russia. Stalin must first demonstrate satisfactorily to the Allies that he can survive till the winter-time. All aid thus far (the world spotlighting of a couple of tankers with oil sent to Vladivostok merely serves to emphasize this) has been in the nature of a promise for the future. Moscow would like to see this aid expedited, naturally. But Roosevelt refuses even to hasten the projected meeting in Moscow to coordinate future plans in the military struggle. Stalin wants this meeting in September. Roosevelt says in October. Roosevelt wants the extra month to make sure Stalin can really survive that long before committing himself to anything real.

How the "Democracies" Will Aid The USSR

We Trotskyists certainly want to see every bit of aid go to Soviet Russia. But we are quite open-eyed concerning the aid given by the "democratic" imperialist nations to the Soviet Union. In the first place, these imperialists will give aid only as it suits their own interests. Right now, these imperialists congratulate themselves on the fact that the longer Russia continues the struggle, the longer the time given as a reprieve from attack by Hitler on England and the United States. Of course Churchill and Roosevelt take not the slightest interest in the survival of the Soviet state. This they tell us in so many words.

We do not follow the Stalinists in making "demands" on the United States government to give aid to Russia. We draw the same distinction from our side of the class line and the class struggle that Roosevelt draws between the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union. We refuse to be misled into political support of the "democracies" by the desire to see all aid given to the Red Army.

Long before the outbreak of the second World War, Trotsky showed the danger to the working class and to the USSR of giving any trust to whichever imperialist allies might find themselves on the same side as Russia in the coming war. Sooner or later in the course of the war these treacherous allies would turn on the Soviet Union and try to annihilate it as a workers' state. Instead of making demands on Roosevelt for aid, we should absorb, fully and in time, the lesson he and the others have taught the working class. That lesson is that the capitalists do not forget their class interests for one single moment, even in the midst of the most deadly danger.

The Blindness of the Stalinists

We must be vigilant to oppose what will inevitably come; that is, pressure by the "democracies" on Stalin for political and economic concessions as payment for aid. Stalin has agreed before the convening of any conference to the eight-point fraud of Roosevelt-Churchill. That agreement contains his promise that he will not use the "emergency" to aid any working-class revolution in western Europe. That means that if Germany should finally throw off the fascist-capitalist shackles, Churchill-Roosevelt would have a free hand to intervene and put down a working-class revolution.

Here we see the treacherous blindness of the Stalinists. Their readiness to sacrifice the future for the present, is the index of their utter pessimism and hopelessness. In England it is the Stalinists who demand that the government oust the more outspoken officials who state frankly that they would like to see Hitler and Stalin fight each other to the utter exhaustion of both. The democracies could then step in and finish off both enemies.

Instead of recognizing this as the true attitude of all allied capitalists, — what else could it be? — the Stalinists lull the workers with the idea that this is the attitude of only a few individuals. But if the British Stalinists wanted to assure full, unadulterated aid to the USSR, they would be mobilizing the British workers to take over the reins of government.

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class conscious worker.

—LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.**
5. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
6. **For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
7. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
8. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
9. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**

The CIO Organizes The Teamsters

It must have been welcome news to the embattled motor transport workers of Minneapolis to learn that the CIO has launched a big drive to bring the drivers of Michigan into the CIO. The Minneapolis drivers, members of Local 544-CIO, have for three months been under the full fury of an attack by AFL Teamsters chief Daniel J. Tobin and his goon squads. Now Tobin must preoccupy himself with the CIO drive in Michigan, and that will make far easier the task of preventing Tobin and his friends in the state and national government from smashing Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis. All honest observers agree that Local 544-CIO has the allegiance of the workers in the industry and only by pouring hundreds of "organizers" from outside into Minneapolis has Tobin been able to maintain a semblance of a rival union.

The backbone of the CIO organizing drive in Michigan must of course be the United Auto Workers, whose officers are under instructions from the recent Buffalo convention of the UAW to aid the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee in organizing the truck drivers. In a resolution welcoming Local 544 into the CIO, and condemning the federal indictment of the Local 544 leaders, the convention also approved "a nation-wide drive to bring democratic industrial unionism to the American motor transport workers" and "pledged its full support to the organizing drive of the UCWOC in this field."

Huge numbers of drivers are closely associated with the auto industry, including the "haul-away" drivers who take new automobiles from the plants. They form the first nucleus of the CIO Motor Transport Workers Union in the auto area. But a concerted drive will bring all the drivers of Michigan into the CIO. Many of them are unorganized to this day, despite the aid given by the UAW-CIO to the AFL Teamsters whenever called upon. Still others are suffering from the usual brand of Tobin unionism. The chief Detroit local of the Teamsters, for example, has been living under a perpetual dictator-receivership. In a word, the CIO has but to open its doors wide and show its readiness to protect the drivers from the terrorist gangs such as Tobin has loosed against the Minneapolis drivers, and the drivers, not only in Michigan but throughout the country, will be only too glad to avail themselves of the democratic industrial unionism of the CIO.

First Victims Of The New Stalinist Line

The first victims of the Communist Party's new warmongering line turn out to be members and sympathizers of the Communist Party itself. In betraying the interests of all the workers, the Stalinists have betrayed their own ranks as well.

The examples are numerous. In each instance, the Stalinist victims are like animals caught in a trap, but prevented by their own political line from condemning those who set the trap.

Several months ago, Morris Schappes, a New York college teacher, was framed up and convicted of perjury because he shielded fellow-members of the Communist Party during the Rapp-Coudert Committee's anti-labor drive in the New York public schools. Throughout his trial, Schappes correctly charged that this frame up and the entire activities of the committee were part of the anti-labor drive of the Roosevelt Administration bent on smashing all opposition to its war program.

However, when the time came for him to face sentence, Schappes could only plead that he had nothing against the interests of the country. Between the time of trial and the passing of sentence, the Stalinist line had changed. Schappes could not expose the forces responsible for his conviction for his "comrades" were in the same war camp as the prosecutors.

Prior to the calling-off of the Negro Job March on Washington, scheduled for July 1, the Communist Party loudly warned its Negro followers to beware of "backsliding" on the part of the pro-war sponsors of the March, who would grasp at the slightest opportunity to call it off. A week before the March was to take place, and while the Stalinist rank-and-file were putting on all possible pressure to ensure that it would not be sabotaged, the Kremlin decided to support the Allied imperialists. The March was called off. But the *Daily Worker* said not a word about this betrayal. The bewildered Stalinist rank-and-file had to do their own "explaining" to the disgusted Negro workers.

When Roosevelt smashed the North American Aviation Corporation strike with troops, early in June, the Stalinists could find no words harsh enough to condemn this act, and gave full support to the strike, which was led by their own members.

But at the United Auto Workers convention in August, the Stalinists joined in knifing the North American workers — including the Stalinist leaders of the strike — by denouncing the strike as "a mistake."

Members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League who were drafted into the army had been assured by the Stalinist leadership that the party would fight for their interests as conscripted workers.

But when Roosevelt proposed to extend the service term, the drafted Stalinists were shocked to learn that the most ardent supporter of Roosevelt's proposal was the Communist Party.

The most striking of all these cases is that of Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party. When Browder was sent to the federal penitentiary on a frameup charge, the Stalinists cried:

"The decree against Browder is a sign of the wave of reaction in the country stemming from Wall Street for whom President Roosevelt is chief spokesman and war-party leader." (Statement of the New York State Committee, Communist Party).

Today, Browder is still in jail. But the Communist Party cannot tell the workers why. "Open the doors on Browder — Close the doors on Appeasement" cries the *Daily Worker*. It cannot say that it is Roosevelt and the war-mongers who put Browder in jail and are keeping him there. Now, it can only whine that Browder is the victim of the "appeasers."

The Stalinists lick the boots of American imperialism. But that doesn't save them from feeling the imperialist heel on their own necks.

The Great Hypocrite

A little over two months ago, when Negroes planned a Job March on Washington, Roosevelt got the leaders to call off the March by his promise that all employers getting contracts from the government would have to obey a clause in government contracts prohibiting racial discrimination in their employment policies.

The "joker" was that Roosevelt's executive order on this question provided no penalty for those employers who refuse to abide by this clause. The Fair Employment Practices Committee that Roosevelt set up to watch the operation of this clause has no power to do anything to employers who violate it. The record has been made by Roosevelt, but nothing basic for the Negroes was changed.

In the same pattern was Roosevelt's letter last Saturday about racial discrimination in governmental departments. Again there were only words, but nothing to indicate that Negroes will get jobs in these departments.

In his letter Roosevelt admits that there is a "lack of uniformity and possibly some lack of sympathetic attitude" by the department heads toward this problem — which is a polite way of saying that Negroes aren't getting jobs in most federal departments. Roosevelt says he wants "a thorough examination of their personnel policies and practices" so that the department heads "may be able to assure me that in the Federal Service the doors of employment are open to all", etc.

Roosevelt does not demand that Negroes be hired in these departments. All he asks is that he be "assured" by Jim-Crowing department heads that there is no discrimination.

Negroes must see through Roosevelt's hypocrisy. They must realize that he and his stooges on the Fair Employment Practices Committee are only playing a game with the Negroes. There is only one way for Negroes to act — organize their forces for a finish fight against Jim Crowism everywhere.

Gen. De Gaulle Plans To Restore Monarchy

French Stalinists Disarm The Workers By Demanding 'Unity' With Both The 'Democratic' and Royalist Forces

By MICHAEL CORT

Pertinax, an authoritative French political journalist now living in the United States, has publicly appealed to General Charles de Gaulle to declare himself in favor of the "democratic Republic" form of government. This appeal will come as a shock to many who have always taken it for granted that de Gaulle and his "Free French" forces were battling for the "democratic way of life."

In a signed article in the September 3rd New York *Times*, Pertinax admits that de Gaulle has been "pressed" repeatedly to declare himself in favor of the restoration of the Republic in France once Hitler and Petain are defeated, but that the General "has felt that the best course was to leave the whole question severely alone." Pertinax charges that "important British personalities credit him (de Gaulle) with a plan for a constitutional monarchy."

In reality it makes little difference to the French workers which form of government de Gaulle may prefer. Whether they are required to salute a pretender to the throne or a Daladier, they will be ruled and exploited by the French bosses. The American and British bosses understand this, and thus they are little concerned over the exact shade of de Gaulle's bourgeois politics.

Pertinax, a bourgeois liberal, is concerned however. He understands that the trappings of a monarchy hold little appeal for the masses. He hopes that the old democratic mirage will be able once more to lure the workers. He sees unmistakable signs that conditions in his country are ripening into a revolutionary situation. He hopes, with the help of the British and American capitalists to be able to channel the gathering wave — divert it from the direction of a workers' revolution. De Gaulle's monarchism is an embarrassment to the "democrats" at this point.

Last week three Frenchmen, held as hostages, were executed by the Nazis in reprisal for the wounding of a German sergeant by an unknown assailant. This week Paris was flooded with leaflets which warned the fascists that for every Frenchman shot as hostage, ten Nazi soldiers of the army of occupation would be killed in the streets.

Individual terrorism, an impotent weapon in itself, is in this case a symptom of the profound unrest of the workers and certain sections of the middle class.

Petain, who seized power posing as a benign dictator — a father concerned with leading his unhappy children to a new and better life — has shed his pretense of paternalism and enforces his rule with naked terror. Step by step he has moved closer to Hitler and attempts to play an active role in the "New Order". He emulates the fascist pattern by attempting to create for himself a mass base by declaring the war veterans' organization as the official French political party.

FRENCH RESISTANCE INCREASES

But Petain's surrender to Hitler and his adoption of fascist methods have only served to further arouse the people. The release from Vichy prisons of so-called syndicalists and other anti-communists to serve as agent-provocateurs among the workers, the appeals for unity from renegade radicals and trade unionists, the gun and the whip and the guillotine — none of these devices have been effective in luring or frightening the desperate French people into passivity.

Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union supplied a tremendous impetus to underground activity in France. The Stalinists still retain considerable forces and there can be little doubt that they were active in the mass wave of sabotage aimed at preventing the deliverance of vital war supplies to the Nazis now battling the Red Army. But the sabotage in favor of the Red Army is carried on not merely by the Stalinists but by considerable sections of the working class.

The success of the campaign of sabotage against the Nazis can lead to increasing militancy on the part of the workers and open the possibility of bringing them into motion against the bosses.

For this the workers will need only a leadership and a program that will clearly label their enemy and organize the fight against him. The Stalinists have failed to supply that leadership and that program.

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, recently broadcasting over the illegal French radio station, said, "...all honest Frenchmen, regardless of party affiliations, political or religious convictions, must unite."

This is far from leading a class struggle against the boss class. The Stalinists unite with some of the bosses against others. They unite with the de Gaullists who are working for a return of the monarchy. This would mean — if the Stalinist advice were followed — the tying of the workers to a force which is committed to the continuance of the capitalist system, and would lead inevitably to struggle by the Stalinists against the workers' revolution. Only a workers' revolution that will put an end to the capitalist system can put an end to Hitlerism and Petainism.

The French workers are at a cross-road. If they are to free themselves, they must remember the lessons of the Popular Front under Blum; the betrayal of the Loyalists in Spain; the passivity of the labor leaders in Germany when the bosses gave power to Hitler; and the butchery of the unsuspecting Chinese masses by Chiang Kai-Shek. All these drive home the point — the workers can place no confidence whatever in those sections of the ruling class that from time to time pose as their ally. Only independent working class struggle will give them the program and the organizational strength required to seize and hold power.

Hitler's Program For The Soviet Collectives

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

On August 20, the *Reich*, the official organ of the German imperialists, announced to the world that the Soviet collective farms — the *kolkhozi* — would be retained in the areas of the Soviet Union occupied by the German troops. There has been no comment from the Kremlin. Nor has the *Daily Worker* seen fit to point out that so far as official Nazi propaganda is concerned this move represents a complete about-face.

The Nazis had boasted hitherto that they would abolish the collectives in favor of "freedom of the soil and individual property for the Russian peasant." Hitler had undoubtedly hoped to rally Russian peasants to his side by means of the self-same demagogic promise with which he had duped the German peasants to whom he had also originally promised land. Since June 22, when the Nazi assault was launched, the German press has waged a campaign attacking Soviet economy, and especially singling out the collectives as one "of the worst forms of 'economic slavery' and as one of the extreme cases of Soviet inefficiency and mismanagement" (N. Y. Times, July 12).

A censored dispatch from Berlin explains the about-face as follows:

"It is realized that the maintenance of agricultural production at anything like its level in the Soviet days could be safeguarded in the German interests only if, for the time being, the existing organization of agriculture were preserved in its main outlines" (N. Y. Times, August 21).

In other words, this move, on Hitler's part, represents a retreat in the face of insurmountable difficulties confronting the German imperialists in their attempt to exploit the economic resources of the occupied territories. At the very outset the imperialist conqueror is compelled to surrender the chief political weapon by means of which a section of the local peasantry could conceivably be rallied to the Nazi camp.

At the same time, Hitler runs the risk of placing a further strain on German industry; that would be involved in any attempt by Hitler to retain the collectives. For it is impossible to operate the latter without machines, tractors, oil, etc., so urgently needed by the war machine. Thus far from facilitating the tasks of occupation and economic exploitation, this latest plan of the German imperialists can in the long run only seriously aggravate them. Obviously, Hitler has no other alternative.

But how is it possible for the Nazis to try this "experiment" with the collectives in the territory they occupy? Isn't this tantamount to the adoption even if temporarily—by the fascists of "socialist forms of economy"? Not at all.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the conception that in retaining the collectives Hitler is gambling with socialism against his will. Historical events are once again exploding another monstrous lie of Stalin's.

It was Stalin and the Stalinists who claimed that the collectives are a genuine socialist type of enterprise. It was the Kremlin that boasted that the institution of the collectives destroyed the capitalist elements in agriculture; abolished for all time the contradiction between city and country; assured the irrevocable triumph of socialism in one country, and so forth and so on. As a matter of fact, the collectives, in and by themselves, are far removed from socialism and are incapable of achieving the goal claimed for them by Stalin.

Collectives merely represent a form of large scale farming. They are no more incompatible with the capitalist mode of production than are, for instance, various types of cooperatives. Under Stalin's regime, the *kolkhozi* have remained far closer in type to petty-bourgeois cooperatives than to the *communal* agricultural enterprises which are possible only under socialism. It is just for this reason, and this reason alone, that the Nazis can now even speculate on the possibility of utilizing the collectives to serve their purposes.

Within the *kolkhozi* as they are now constituted, their exists a profound *class* differentiation, which has been fostered by Stalin's policies. Within the Soviet collectives there are embryo rural bourgeois — "millionaire kolkhozniks", and typical kulak elements. It is on these elements that the Nazis are banking for support.

A Berlin dispatch for August 31 leaves no doubt on this score:

"The collective farms...are to continue operation," states Berlin, "under managers who will be selected from the 'more expert and diligent peasants', according to the provisional orders cited" (N. Y. *Times*, September 1).

This fancy formula of "more expert and diligent peasants" is merely Hitler's way of designating the *kulaks* for whom the collectives have long provided a cover. Hitler's "provisional orders" reveal the class composition of the collectives for all those who have eyes to see. Only the blind can fail to understand that if the collectives really represented what the Stalinists have always claimed, then Hitler and the German imperialists could have never resorted to them as a possible solution. Small wonder that the *Daily Worker* prefers to keep silent on this topic!

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

The General Staff Of The Red Army

The magnificent resistance offered by the Soviet army to the Nazi attack is correctly attributed to the morale of the soldiers in the Red Army.

The Stalinist leaders try to use this fact as proof that all that Stalin did before the war was justified — especially the arrest and execution of Tukachevsky and thousands of other leading officers of the Red Army.

Politicians and journalists in the service of the "democratic" imperialists are also now singing the praises of Stalin. While they do not say that the execution of the leading officers was justified, they claim that the way the Soviet soldiers are fighting proves that the execution did no harm to the Red Army.

What a shameless misuse of the courage and sacrifice of the Soviet soldiers!

The fact remains that the Red Army has suffered serious defeats and has been compelled to relinquish huge and economically important slices of territory. It may be that by its fighting capacity the Red Army will succeed in stemming the advance of the Nazi army, and even of defeating it, if the German losses are great enough. But if that happens, it surely will not be because of Stalin and his general staff.

In a long war the economic superiority of Germany would be the decisive factor. But in the early stages of any war that factor is not decisive. The decisive factors at the beginning of a war are the number of men, the equipment, training and morale of the army, and the quality of the staff work.

Numerically the Red Army is larger than the German army. In equipment, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the Red Army is at least equal to the German army. In morale it is superior.

Why, then, should the Red Army be retreating? Why shouldn't the Red Army be on German soil rather than vice versa? Why should an army composed of such valiant fighters be losing so many battles?

The only answer possible is the inferior staff work of the Red Army command. Every other military factor favors the Red Army. The explanation for the defeats lies, therefore, in the lack of staff work and the lack of staff work is due to the execution of the leading army officers. That should be as plain as day to everyone not a Stalinist or a pro-war journalist interested in covering up the real defects of the Red Army.

Why The "Democrats" Are Pleased

Why are all the politicians and journalists, serving the interests of the "democratic" imperialists, so elated at the showing of the Soviet Army? Why are they so enthusiastic about the "successful" defense of the Soviet Union?

It is because their standards are altogether different from the standards of those sincerely devoted to the interests of the Soviet Union. The servants of the "democratic" imperialists are interested in the resistance of the Soviet Army to the Nazi imperialist army only insofar as that resistance is of aid to the "democratic" imperialists. Their hope is that the Soviet Army will exhaust the Nazi army and assure victory for the "democracies." At the same time they hope that the Soviet Army will itself become exhausted so as to leave the Soviet Union at the mercy of the "democracies."

To the "democratic" imperialists every week that the Soviet Army continues to fight means that much more time in which they can prepare and it means more losses for the Nazy army. What do the "democrats" care about the territory that the Soviet Union loses? What do they care about the enormous sacrifices which the Soviet people must undergo?

To the "democratic" imperialists the destruction of the Soviet Union would be welcome if only it does not take six weeks but sixteen weeks — better still if it takes a year and involves a winter campaign for the Nazi army.

The Stalinists Fall In With This

And the miserable Stalinists fall in with that attitude!! They who boasted about the invincibility of the Red Army, they who proclaimed that the Red Army would be in Berlin before the Nazi army would take Moscow, are now proclaiming as victories the constant retreat of the Red Army.

And they dare to justify the murder of the leading officers! They forget to mention, of course, that it was Tukachevsky and his associates who mechanized the Red Army and who built the so-called Stalin line of fortifications.

The Red Army would in all probability be invincible, had not the Stalinist bureaucracy chopped its head off and left it in the hands of tenth-raters. One of the reasons that Hitler ordered the attack on the Soviet Union was that he knew how weakened the Red Army was by the acts of Stalin. The fascist imperialists, like the "democratic" ones, did not count on the spirit of the Red Army but, alas, they were right in counting on the weakness and incapacity of the Red Army staff.

The magnificent morale of the Red Army may yet prove the rock upon which Hitler will break his head. Hitler may be beaten ultimately because of the enormous losses suffered by his army in the campaign against the Soviet Union. Or it may even be that the Soviet Army, after exhausting the Nazi army, may actually drive the Nazi army back.

If that happens the Stalinists will boast that it was due to the execution of the leading officers. But the Soviet soldiers know better — they know that they are compelled to make such enormous sacrifices because of Stalin. They surely know that they are compelled to retreat now, in spite of their resistance, because of Stalin.